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THE IMPERIAL  
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JANUARY, 1912.

THE DUNDEE AND CALCUTTA JUTE  
INDUSTRIES, AND THE NEW EXPORT DUTY  
ON JUTE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

i. THE DUTY AS IT MIGHT BE.

FOR some years past I have earnestly advocated a "differential" export duty on raw jute—that is, a substantial export duty, with a full rebate of all duties charged on exports of raw jute to Dundee and other ports in the British Empire. An export duty of this nature, charged on all exports of raw jute to foreign countries outside the British Empire at the rate of 20 per cent., *ad valorem*, would yield, in present circumstances, a revenue of about two million sterling. Such a duty—which would almost certainly be imposed by a Tariff Reform Government, and may be called a "Tariff Reform" export duty—would be amply sufficient, even without the aid of similar export duties on other Indian monopolies such as lac, to recoup the Indian revenues for the loss occasioned by the remission of the excise duty of 3½ per cent. on Indian cotton goods and of the import duty on Lancashire and Scottish cotton goods and on other British manufactures. As the raw jute, a monopoly-product of Bengal, is absolutely needed by Germany and the United States and other

Protectionist countries for their own industries, it is economically certain that such an export duty—provided that its rate be not so high as to bring in other competing fibres—will be readily paid by the foreigner, and will not appreciably affect his demand. And it is perfectly obvious that such a duty—when coupled with Imperial Preference in Great Britain and the Colonies—will not only give Calcutta and Dundee the absolute command of all the great jute markets of the world, especially in the Colonies, where the use of jute bags for produce is rapidly becoming enormous, but it will also (by freeing Indian and Lancashire and Scottish cotton goods and other British Empire manufactures from Indian taxation) materially cheapen the cost of the clothing of the Indian masses, will foster Indian nascent industries, and greatly stimulate the manufactures of Lancashire and Scotland, and all other British industrial districts.

## 2. THE DISASTROUS COBDENITE DUTY.

The Secretary of State for India has now adopted the idea—but being under the rusty old iron yoke of the Cobden Club, he has adopted it with Free Trade modifications that utterly destroy all its powers for good, and that aim a direct and deadly blow at the jute industry of Dundee, while inflicting an indirect, but hardly less fatal, injury on the jute industry of Calcutta.

In answer to a question by Sir John Spear, M.P., in the House of Commons on October 31, the Under-Secretary of State for India apologized for the new tax, on the ground that it was only a small one—the "thin end of the wedge" is always described, like the baby in "Midshipman Easy," as "only a very little one"—required for local improvements! He also declared that "The Secretary of State does not think it necessary to lay papers on the subject."

Very likely not!—for if papers were laid, so as to inform Mr. Winston Churchill's Radical followers in Dundee of all that is going on, unpleasant consequences might ensue. Some of us are old enough to remember that in 1865, when

the Liberal Government sanctioned a similar export duty on jute, the Dundee Chamber of Commerce, without a moment's hesitation, took the matter up—Sir John Leng, afterwards M.P. for Dundee, was then the proprietor and editor of the *Dundee Advertiser*—and started such a vigorous agitation that the Secretary of State was forced to intervene, and the Government of India not only rescinded the tax in 1866, but actually refunded the duties that had already been paid! Dundee was then a power in the State, and might again become so.

Mr. Montagu informed the House of Commons on October 31 that the new tax will be imposed "on all jute exported by sea from the port of Calcutta to any other port, whether beyond or within India." He added that "it is proposed to levy a similar tax on raw and manufactured jute exported from Chittagong"—and that "as the duty will be paid equally on jute manufactures and on raw jute, no rebate will be made on raw jute shipped to British ports." And no excise duty is to be levied—or indeed could possibly be levied, except at the cost of outrageous interference with the liberty of the subject that puts it out of the question—on the raw jute supplied to Indian mills, or on the products of those mills when sent up-country to the wheat and rice districts, or when exported from any other port than Calcutta or Chittagong.

Now practically every bale of raw jute for Dundee must be shipped at one of those two ports. So it comes to this, that this so-called "Free Trade" tax is imposed in such a way as to add to the cost of every bale of raw jute that is landed at Dundee, while it adds nothing whatever to the cost of the bales of raw jute supplied to the Indian mills, and nothing whatever to the cost of their manufactured jute unless and until it is exported by sea from the ports of Calcutta or Chittagong!

And this is Free Trade! Obviously, so far as the vast Indian market is concerned, it is Protection pure and simple.

It is just as clearly Protection as was the import duty,

imposed two years ago, on tobacco—and when it was discovered that that duty was ruining Mr. Birrell's constituents, and a bitter cry went up from the cigarette-makers of Bristol, within twelve months that duty was, if not actually rescinded, so far modified as to become comparatively innocuous.

Mr. Montagu takes great credit to the Government for imposing an equivalent export duty on jute manufactures when exported from Calcutta or Chittagong—as if that most senseless and ill-judged tax remedied the Protective character of the export-duty on raw jute. It may be admitted that this tax prevents the Indian mills from getting on a level with the protected foreigner in his own or in other foreign markets, just as the export duty on their raw jute will disable the Dundee mills from doing so. But it affords no remedy whatever to the Dundee product, in the Indian market, while it will harass and burden the Calcutta export-trade to a deplorable degree. It will injure Calcutta without helping Dundee—and, as usually happens in these bungling Cobdenite arrangements, the foreigner will get the oyster while Britain and India squabble over the shells.

In reply to a further question on the subject on November 30 last, Mr. Montagu endeavoured to defend this tax from the charge of being protective in its effects by a mis-statement which—though, of course, unintentional and uttered inadvertently—is very astonishing when coming from a gentleman holding the high and responsible office of Under-Secretary of State, who ought to be familiar with the published statistics of Indian trade. He boldly declared: "As no jute goods are imported into India, no question of protection as regards the foreign manufacturer arises." Now here Mr. Montagu is distinctly wrong in his facts. He need not worry about the "foreign" manufacturer, for the latter is always well cared for by his own Government; but how about the Dundee manufacturer? Within my memory of the trade, the imports into India of Dundee

jute manufactures were large; but even now it is absurd for Mr. Montagu to allege there are none. The Indian Blue-book ("Tables of the Trade of British India," Cd. 5608), published only last month, as if to protest against Mr. Montagu's astonishing statement, shows that jute manufactures were imported into India in 1907-8 to the value of £103,519, in 1908-9 to the value of £96,840, and in 1909-10 to the value of £81,958! It shows that every year Dundee alone has been sending to India something like a million and a half yards of jute cloth or canvas! And it was only in 1904 that an eminent Dundee jute manufacturer (Mr. Longair, of the firm of James Paterson and Co.) published some notes on this export of Dundee manufactures to the Indian market. He wrote: "Such goods as we can import into India are either fine or special goods"; and he added: "She (India) supplies us with all the jute and other commodities we can use, *on terms of fair equality with herself*, and I confess to having felt a thrill of satisfaction when quite recently I observed in the forwarding sheds of our works a number of bales of high-class but plain jute goods destined for Calcutta via Glasgow." The words I have italicized are in the nature of a prophetic protest against the new tax.

### 3. THE NEW DUTY INJURES DUNDEE AND CALCUTTA EQUALLY.

This astounding tax, which grossly violates every known canon of sound finance—I doubt whether even Mr. Lloyd George would have had the courage to father it—found no place in the annual Budget of Sir Fleetwood Wilson. It appears to have been smuggled through in a hole-and-corner fashion, on the excuse of being a local tax for a local purpose, so as to escape the wrath of the Cobden Club, and of the Dundee artisans. The "local purpose"—the improvement and adornment of the metropolitan City of Calcutta—is undoubtedly a very proper and necessary thing in itself, and it obviously is a fair and proper charge

on Imperial taxation. But it is obviously absurd, as well as unscientific, to treat an export duty on a great staple of Indian commerce as if it were a mere *octroi*. A great and fundamental change of policy in such a matter ought to be a matter of Imperial concern and Imperial discussion.

Moreover, the moment chosen for making this great and fundamental change is a singularly unfortunate one, both for Calcutta and for Dundee. A powerful article in the Calcutta *Englishman*—the recognized organ of the jute trade, as it is of the tea and other Bengal industries—of October 26, shows most clearly that the industry is by no means in such a flourishing condition as to ask for an export duty on its manufactured products. It speaks of two or three “weary years of loss,” of dubious proposals for ameliorating things by “combines,” and so forth. So far from advocating a tax on the products of Calcutta mills, the *Englishman* rightly and wisely asks for a differential duty on the export of the raw material. It says :

“A combination of the mills to demand an export duty on the raw material, with a drawback of the same amount to Dundee, or any Free Trade country, if backed by as much weight as this proposal is said to be at home, might be able to obtain this alteration in the fiscal laws. . . . Jute is a monopoly article, and there is no substitute for it. This tax, judiciously raised, would transfer the bulk of the jute manufacturing industry to Bengal in the course of a few years.”

Precisely the same points might be raised for Dundee, and although Sir John Leng was something of a Cobdenite in his day, I feel sure he would have taken up this position if he had been still to the fore.

Dundee, indeed, is particularly badly treated in being thus “left” by the Secretary of State for India; for it was to the enterprise and genius of a Dundee merchant that India owes this splendid industry, which now brings her (as Sir George Watt points out in his monumental work

on "The Commercial Products of India") more than £22,000,000 annually; in payment for her raw jute and jute manufactures.

It was in 1832 that the Dundee experiments were carried out. Up to that time, the only use that had been made of jute was by the raiyats of Eastern Bengal, whose hand-looms sometimes turned it into jute-cloth for sacking. The Dundee manufacturers adapted it to machinery—at first, so it is said, by treatment with whale-oil—and the export of the raw fibre to Dundee, from very small beginnings, grew very rapidly. In the 'sixties competition began to appear; and for the first time some bales of raw jute began to find their way to a mill in Brunswick. There an enterprising German firm, having connections in Calcutta, and finding that they could buy raw jute on equal terms with their Scottish rivals, brought over British machinery and Scottish workmen, and set to work to capture the Dundee trade. With the establishment of rigid Protection in the 'seventies, everywhere but in the United Kingdom and India, Dundee rapidly lost the hegemony she had conquered for herself by her genius and her enterprise. In 1879, the year of the complete working of Protection in Germany, the United Kingdom still imported no less than 182,000 tons of raw jute for home consumption, of which very nearly all went to Dundee—last year the United Kingdom imported for home consumption only 197,000 tons, while Germany took for her mills from India alone 150,000 tons, besides the re-exports from England that brought her total to an actual equality with ours, or perhaps more.

There is no doubt whatever that England runs the Empire of India, in commercial matters, largely for the benefit of the Japanese and Germans and other protected communities. That may be said to be fair enough, so far as Dundee and her jute-workers are concerned; for that self-denying city seems to prefer that jute should be manufactured in German mills by German artisans, rather

than in Scottish mills by Scottish artisans—for she actually returns to Parliament a prominent member of the very Cabinet that has now sanctioned an Indian tax on the raw jute sent to Dundee : a tax that will undeniably increase the cost of the raw material of the Dundee industry ! But is it equally fair for Indian jute-workers—who are to a man Protectionist, and who would turn out the Free Trade Government to-morrow if they possessed the vote—that the manufactured goods which are the products of their industry should be taxed on export from Calcutta and Chittagong ?

In considering the progress, or rather the comparative retrogression, of the Dundee jute industry, it is hardly necessary for me to note the fact—which is, of course, patent to all the world—that the world's consumption of jute goods since 1879, the year of German full Protection, has been growing, not merely by leaps and bounds, but literally by hundreds-fold. This has happened not only in every one of the countries of the Continent of Europe and in the United States, but also in all the self-governing Colonies, in Asiatic countries, and in all the Republics of Central and Southern America—in the so-called "neutral" markets of the world. If the progress of the Dundee jute industry since 1879 had been at all commensurate with that of the rest of the world, she would have grown by this time to have been one of the biggest and richest cities of the Empire.

But what are the realities of the case of the Dundee jute trade ?

It is admitted that in 1860 Dundee practically supplied the jute manufactures of the world.

I went out to India in 1868 as the Government Professor of Political Economy in the State Colleges of the Calcutta University ; and it was, of course, my official duty to study and lecture on the phenomena of the Indian trade with the whole world. And as Calcutta is the very centre of the jute districts of Bengal, and is also the port from which

over 90 per cent. of the raw jute of the world is exported, the jute trade naturally attracted my closest attention. So in this way I was, from the very beginning, and at close quarters, a careful observer of the competition with the Dundee industry.

The competition in Germany commenced with the Brunswick mill of which I have spoken. In India I was myself a shareholder in the first fully equipped mill, which was established at a village called Barahanagar, on the Hooghly, and the factory was known as the Barnagore Jute Mills. At first the competition was fair and natural; but as soon as the Protected countries of Europe and America took it up in earnest, it soon became evident that Free Trade must sooner or later be beaten by Protection, if we refuse to learn by experience, whether in India or in Scotland.

While in 1860 Dundee manufactured jute for the whole world, what is the case now? The following countries now buy their raw jute for themselves in ever-increasing quantities—Germany, Japan, the United States, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium and Holland, Spain, Brazil, Chile, and the Argentine Republic. Gradually these countries are manufacturing for themselves their own requirements; and then the more advanced commence to export the supplies for their neighbours. The *modus operandi* in every case is more or less the same. The Protectionist Government, as soon as mills are started, impose a practically prohibitive duty on the finished article, and graduated duties on the partially manufactured article, while they not only allow the raw material to enter free, but even subsidise it by various shipping and other subsidies. At first gunny bags are kept out, and jute-cloth imported. Then, as the industry grows, the cloth is kept out, and manufactured at home from imported yarns; and finally, as the mills become fully equipped, and sufficient for spinning as well as weaving purposes, all manufactures are practically excluded, and only the subsidised raw

material admitted. Quite lately Japan and Brazil have furnished instances of these processes.

And, meanwhile, what about the "progress" of the Dundee industry? It can, of course, be adequately measured by the returns of raw jute brought to Great Britain for home-consumption, not for re-export. I mentioned that, in 1879, that import amounted to 182,000 tons; and if Dundee had kept pace with the progress of world-consumption, that import for home-consumption ought to-day to be at least double or treble, while allowing for all fair expansion in other countries. The average returns for the quinqueennial period 1900 to 1904 show an annual consumption of 203,000 tons; and last year they stood at 197,000 tons, a beggarly increase of 15,000 tons over the returns of 1879! Does the Dundee Chamber of Commerce—their predecessors in 1866 bravely and successfully tackled Lord Russell on precisely the same subject—require any further evidence before asking their member, Mr. Churchill, not to add this new Indian tax to the cost of their raw jute?

If they do require further witness, they can get it in melancholy abundance from the numerous Dundee firms whose evidence was printed in vol. ii., part 7, of the "Report of the Tariff Commission." And if the evidence of Tariff Reformers, or those who sympathize with preferential trading between Britain and India, be regarded as suspect, they can hardly refuse to listen to the evidence incidentally afforded by the letter of the Warden of the Dundee Women's Settlement, published in the *Times* in March last. That lady, writing from Dundee on March 13, says:

"The Municipality has been forced to open relief-works under the Unemployed Workmen Act during the past three winters. . . . This winter has been marked by a further step downwards. Under-employment has been added to scarcity of work and low wages. *This is caused by the prohibitive price of jute.* Some mills have closed, others are running short time; wages

that seemed the lowest possible have been reduced by one-fifth. In one poor quarter of the town 5,000 workers are on strike. These people are mostly non-unionists; in the best of times a week's wage is all that lay between them and destitution; now they are on the verge of starvation. Such are the bare facts of an industry engaged in unequal competition; only those living and working among the people know what suffering, what courage, and what patient endurance they involve."

The words that I have italicized, in this most alarming and striking statement from an absolutely impartial and non-partisan source, throw a lurid light on the determination of Mr. Churchill and the Government to still further increase, for Dundee, the price of jute by their Indian legislation. The Warden, who has been living and working among the poorer classes of Mr. Churchill's constituents—and whose testimony not even Mr. Churchill would dare to impugn—shows that large numbers of the Dundee jute-workers are "on the verge of starvation," and states definitely that this terrible state of affairs has been largely owing to "the prohibitive price of jute." This startling testimony is published in the *Times* in March. It can hardly have failed to be brought to Mr. Churchill's notice, seeing that it so seriously affects his constituents; indeed, it is not too much to say that Mr. Churchill, even without this testimony, ought to know, and probably does know, the state of affairs among the Dundee workers. And, within two or three months of these shocking disclosures, the Government, of which Mr. Churchill is one of the most powerful members, actually sanctions Indian legislation that, beyond any possibility of doubt, makes a sensible addition to the cost of the raw material of the Dundee jute mills.

#### 4. AN OBJECT-LESSON IN COBDENISM.

Here, then, we have a striking object-lesson to teach us the mischief wrought by Cobdenism for our working classes. In the jute industry we have an industry which we can

watch and study in its every stage, from the planting the jute by the raiyats of Maimansinh to the sale of the cloth by the Calcutta or Dundee manufacturers. It was actually created by Scottish enterprise and Scottish capital, and was maintained by Bengali labour. It depends for its existence on the *Pax Britannica* in India, and that *Pax Britannica* has been established by Britain and maintained by India. From start to finish we have had the absolute control and disposal of the industry in our own hands ; for India is the only country (with some slight and insignificant exceptions, possibly, in China and Mexico), where raw jute can be profitably produced as a commercial fibre ; and it can there be produced, as I shall show presently, at a price that leaves every other similar fibre far behind. We have therefore had, in dealing with this industry, three alternatives before us : (1) We might have been rigidly Protective, and reserved all the profits of the industry for Britain and India ; or (2) we might have adopted Imperial Preference, much as the Americans have done with Manila hemp in the Philippines ; or (3) we could adopt so-called Free Trade, and having ourselves (Britons and Indians) incurred all the expense and all the risks of founding and maintaining the industry, place all the advantages and emoluments of it at the disposal, free gratis and for nothing, of the protected and subsidized foreigner.

We Britons have, in fatuous devotion to the foolish old fetish of Free Trade, chosen the last alternative ; and the foreigner has not only promptly entered into the possession of the kingdom we have surrendered to him, but is now rapidly ousting both Britons and Indians. Out of £13,000,000 worth of raw jute annually exported from India, we now take, to be worked up by British working men, less than £3,000,000—the £10,000,000 goes to be worked up by Germans and Americans and the other protected foreigners ! And yet the Free Traders profess to be unable to understand why there should be the terrible destitution among the jute workers of Dundee that is described by the

Warden of the Women's Settlement in the words I have quoted! And they hasten to spend hundreds of thousands a year, to be paid by the poor and thirsty British taxpayers, on vast hordes of Radical wire-pullers turned into civil servants to work bogus schemes of "social reform," under the pretence that this will give employment to the Dundee jute workers whose job they have given away to the Germans and Americans and other foreigners.

There can be no doubt whatever about the facts of the case, for the Blue-books now show exactly the amount of raw jute that is taken by each country for home consumption, and no country can employ its working men in working up raw jute beyond that quantity. So it is absolutely certain that, in an industry whose gross world's work is measured by the £13,000,000 worth of raw material actually worked up, we have voluntarily surrendered to our rivals—or Free Trade has surrendered for us—the working-up of over £10,000,000! And the wail of the Dundee Warden, quoted above, is the net result.

### 5. A CONTRAST WITH AMERICAN METHODS.

Now let me offer as a contrast to this disastrous result of Free Trade the results that have been obtained by the sensible American people in their dealing with the somewhat similar monopoly of Manila hemp possessed by them in the Philippines. It is not much more than ten years ago that America acquired the Philippines by conquest, first from Spain, and then from the Filipino rebels. They found there a valuable monopoly in the shape of Manila hemp, from which the best and strongest cordage, etc., is made. We, that is the British Empire, possess similar monopolies in raw jute, in lac, in Welsh steam-coal, and some other commodities; and as humble-minded Free Traders we always make over to the foreigner his full share (and he takes good care to annex more) of the good-will of these businesses. But the financial and commercial authorities of the United States are good business men, and laugh at the

effete follies of Cobdenism. So they promptly clapped on a substantial export duty on the export of Manila hemp, with a full rebate on all raw material to be used for manufacturing and export purposes in the United States! Of course, the consequence of this is, to the manufacturers of the United States, the exact reverse of the treatment meted out to Dundee manufacturers by Mr. Churchill's Government—the Yankees get their raw material at a cheaper rate than other countries can get it, by the full amount of the duty! And, equally of course, the Americans are now rapidly capturing the whole of the world's trade in many of the most important lines of ropes, twines, binder-twines and other forms of cordage. Thus, the Philippine Islands get the double advantage of a fine revenue from the duty and a full preference on their manufactures, while the United States, as I have said, are capturing the world's market.

#### 6. WHY NOT AN INDIAN DIFFERENTIAL EXPORT DUTY ON RAW JUTE, WITH NONE ON MANUFACTURES?

Now why cannot we learn a lesson from our smarter American cousins? This Free Trade Government have already swallowed their Free Trade principles—for the United Kingdom, in their Patent Act, and in their fiscal policy of Protection for the great Radical firms of cocoa and chocolate manufacturers—and for India, in their Protection of the Indian market in tobacco and jute against British and foreign imports alike. Indeed, the whole of the Indian Tariff is really mildly Protective—e.g.; it gives the boot and leather factories of Cawnpore a protection of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* against Northampton. All that is wanted is to re-adjust this mild Protection so as to protect British industry as well as Indian industry. Of course, the Free Trader is afraid of hurting the “poor foreigner”; that fear is, so far as the India fiscal problem is concerned, the sole remaining difference of principle between Free Traders and Imperial Preferentialists. And the late Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law,

when Finance Minister of India, proved beyond question that the Free Trader's dread of offending the foreigner was a senseless bogey, because of the nature of Indian exports, which the foreigner absolutely needs for his own industries. For this reason, as well as for some others, India is absolutely safe against any danger of even the smallest retaliation. Her commercial and economic position in this respect is undoubtedly far stronger than that of any other great commercial community on the face of the earth; and I have no doubt whatever that the present Finance Minister, Sir Fleetwood Wilson, is as mindful of that important fact as was his distinguished predecessor. I have already noted that this export duty, which, in the bastard form that it has now taken, injures Dundee and Calcutta merely to please the foreigner, found no place in the Annual Budget of the Finance Minister; and I shrewdly suspect that Sir Fleetwood Wilson—who is not only a statesman of the highest probity and honour, but also a trained and accomplished financier—altogether disapproved of such an outrage on the jute industry of the British Empire. And he is far too sound a political economist to offer such a silly excuse for the tax as that put forward by Mr. Montagu—that it is only a small one; for he knows that, in these matters, where competition is as keen as it is in these modern days, the important point is to "get the turn of the market"—and under this tax, something more than the mere turn of the market will be against Dundee in every hâzâr in India.

I do not suppose that Mr. Churchill's Government will trouble themselves much about the complaints of the Calcutta people on the subject of the export duty on the products of their mills—for the Calcutta people have no votes. But it is a different thing with Dundee. I hope and believe that the indignation of the Dundee artisans at being made the *corpus vilo* of Protectionist freak experiments by a Government that asked for their votes on the special plea of Free Trade may make itself heard, even in

the luxurious saloons of the Admiralty yacht. It was on this very plea that Dundee chivalrously acted as a harbour of refuge for Mr. Churchill, when he was rejected by North-West Manchester—and seeing that the Protectionist quality of the new tax is flagrant and obvious on the face of it, and seeing that it hits Dundee more directly than any other place, the representations which the Dundee Chamber of Commerce must perforce make on the subject can hardly fail to result in an immediate repeal of the tax. The way will then be left open for a scientific differential duty, which will protect Dundee and Calcutta alike, will be cheerfully paid by the foreigner, and will hurt no one.

#### 7. A PRACTICAL SCHEME OF IMPERIAL PREFERENCE FOR INDIA.

In any Tariff Reform scheme of Imperial Preference for India that may be devised by negotiation between the Government of India on the one side and the Imperial Government and the various Colonial Governments on the other, it is fairly certain, *ex naturâ rei*, that the *clou* of the arrangement will be found, so far as the finances and industries of India are concerned, in the simultaneous abolition of the odious and inquisitorial excise duty on Indian manufactures, and of the equally odious and unfriendly import duties on the manufactures of Lancashire and Scotland, and other British industrial centres—the Indian revenues being recouped by a differential export duty on the export of raw jute\* (and perhaps of lac and

\* Sir George Watt, in his admirable work on "The Commercial Products of India," aptly summarizes the reasons why an export duty on raw jute is obviously an ideal tax for India, both for revenue and for protective purposes. He says :

"It has been estimated that jute can be produced at Rs. 3 per maund, and that with freight and agency charges it might be landed at Calcutta at Rs. 3 a maund, or Rs. 82 a ton (or, say, £5 1s. a ton overhead, or for the first marks, say, at £5 10s. per ton, f.o.b.). The London quotations of Messrs. Ide and Christie, July 15, 1907, are spot values : Good white to best, £27 to £34; good, £22 to £24; medium, £19 to 21; common, £15 to £17; rejections, £10 to £13; and cuttings, £6 to £8. In

other Indian monopolies) to countries outside the British Empire, and by the maintenance or imposition of suitable import duties on the competing manufactures of protected and subsidized foreign goods. In addition to these advantages, India will obtain a substantial preference, both in the United Kingdom and in all the markets of the British Empire, for her staple products, whether manufactured or unmanufactured. I have already shown that this preference, coupled with the export duty on the export of raw jute to foreign countries, will give her, in combination with Dundee, the absolute command of the great jute markets of the world—and especially in the vast and growing markets of the Colonies, where the present and prospective demand for jute manufactures is almost illimitable, while her jute and cotton yarns, and similar goods, will once more regain their hold on the Far East. Her tea will obtain such a preference as will enable it to beat down that competition from China and Java which has of late been so fierce and so threatening—and so with her coffee, her wheat, her

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view of this remarkable state of affairs, it has been recently suggested that an export duty might easily enough be placed on jute without doing any harm to the industry, since Bengal enjoys an absolute monopoly, and no other fibre can be produced anything like so cheaply."

To this it may be added that, since this was written, the National Bengal Chamber of Commerce—a purely Indian organization, not to be confounded with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, which is almost entirely European—has officially recommended the Government to impose this duty, in order to obtain better terms for Indian goods from Japan and other protected countries.

The duty would have been imposed long ago, if only for revenue purposes, but for the dilemma in which the Government has been placed by its Free Trade prejudices. For obviously, a differential duty, favouring Dundee equally with Calcutta, offends the Cobden Club, because it is supposed to harm the foreigner. So does a general export duty, unless it be accompanied by an excise; while a general export duty, unaccompanied by an excise, must in the long run ruin Dundee. The present Government has regarded Dundee as a negligible quantity, and has imposed the tax in the form most harmful to Mr. Churchill's constituents. But, by also taxing the export of manufactured jute, it contrives at the same time to hit Calcutta, and to leave the protected foreigner comparatively unharmed.

indigo, her sugar, her tobacco, her petroleum, and other natural products. Sharing with Canada and other Colonies the small preference for wheat in the United Kingdom, the mere "turn of the market," without any sensible increase of price, will inevitably enable her to capture much of the trade hitherto held by the United States and Argentina and Russia, and certainly to hold much of the natural increment of that trade in the future. And while the supply of food from within the Empire will thus secure to the United Kingdom the command of that supply in war-time, it will equally benefit India by bringing under cultivation and irrigation millions of acres of wheat-growing land now lying waste, to constitute a magnificent reserve for times of famine.

India now liquidates her obligations to England largely by sending her food and raw material to Germany and other Protectionist countries, there to be worked up—so long as peace lasts—by German and other foreign working men, and then sent on to England in the finished state. That obviously causes unemployment in Britain. Under Imperial Preference much of that raw material will come direct to Britain—India's obligations will be liquidated at a fraction of the present cost, being relieved of innumerable middlemen's profits and wages—and there will be no dislocation of this process in time of war.

It is of the happiest augury for the future of nascent Indian industries that Mr. Bonar Law—by the splendid patriotism and self-abnegation of Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Walter Long—has been chosen to succeed Mr. Balfour as the leader in the House of Commons of the great British Party that is pledged to bring about these vital reforms. Readers of this *Review* will not require to be reminded of the fact that the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July, 1907, reported at considerable length a speech of Mr. Bonar Law delivered before the East India Association on May 5, 1907—which Sir Lépel Griffin, then President of the Association, spoke of as "the exceedingly eloquent and pointed speech of the

Chairman," adding that, "I am bound to say I have rarely heard the Preference case for India stated so admirably as it has been by the Chairman." That expression of opinion by Sir Lepel Griffin was warmly confirmed by Sir Edward Sassoon, Mr. Bomaaji (the Bombay cotton magnate), Colonel Yate, M.P., and other members of the Association; and it is not too much to say that that speech has exercised a most potent influence on public opinion in favour of Indian Imperial Preference, not only in Lancashire and Scotland and other British centres, but also throughout India.

At that meeting—which was held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, to discuss a paper by myself—Mr. Bomanji, speaking for Bombay, had said :

"The Bombay mills were working short time, and it was due to nothing else but losing their market in Japan and also China, where Japan was their greatest competitor. If nothing was done to protect it, the whole spinning industry of Bombay was doomed. He had visited Japan twelve months ago, and found that every mill was adding 20 to 30 per cent. to its spinning power. Not one single spindle had been added to increase yarn production in the Bombay mills, but, on the contrary, certain mills had decreased their capacity for spinning in consequence of the competition in the Chinese market, by adding looms and turning out cloth for Indian markets."

On that occasion, at the close of a most powerful and convincing speech, Mr. Bonar Law said :

"I think it is an extremely good thing—it is for that reason I came here this afternoon—that this question should be discussed. When the fiscal question was first raised, our opponents assumed, as if it was not a matter of argument, that India blocked the way; it was bound to be a disadvantage to India. The more papers we have such as we have listened to

this afternoon, and what is of more importance—for I attach more value to the papers of our opponents—the more papers you have like this read by Sir James Mackay, the more evident it will be that of all the parts of the British Empire the one which would benefit the most, and benefit most rapidly, is precisely that part which has been supposed to be a blot on the field—the British Indian Empire."

And from that day to the present Mr. Bonar Law has never ceased to advocate, with wonderful lucidity and masterly eloquence—whether in Westminster, in Manchester, in Bootle, or elsewhere—the cause of Indian Imperial Preference, which he shows must benefit India no less than Great Britain, and Great Britain and the Empire at large no less than India, and is necessary for us all.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain's famous speech at Wigan, and Mr. Balfour's in Manchester and elsewhere, have borne the same testimony. The recent conversion of Oldham—the one great manufacturing centre of Lancashire in which the operatives are more powerful than anywhere else—and the trend of other by-elections, all show clearly enough that the day of Imperial Preference for the Empire is fast approaching. Every politician, every intelligent student of public affairs, knows perfectly well that until it arrives there is no hope for the development of Indian industries, whether jute, cotton, or any other; for without it they must inevitably be smothered by the competition of foreign Protection, as Mr. Bomanji showed has been the case in the Bombay hosiery trade. Under Free Trade, so called, there is absolutely no possibility, no room for hope, for the redress of even such an obvious, flagrant, and admitted grievance as the excise duty on Indian cotton goods. It is simply amazing how any Indian educated gentleman, if he is at all a man of affairs, with a knowledge of the world—as very many now are—can entertain any hope whatever for Indian industrial and commercial salvation except under a fiscal system of Imperial Preference.

## THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION IN INDIA.\*

By J. KENNEDY, I.C.S.

"THE Economic Transition in India" is the title Sir Theodore Morison has given to certain lectures delivered by him at the London School of Economics in 1910, and now revised and published in book form. The occasion of these lectures accounts for their somewhat academic tone, but the book is eminently readable. Sir Theodore is a master of his subject; he develops every proposition with great fulness of exposition and clearness of expression; and the ample illustrations which he draws from the economic history of other countries, while they attest the extent of his knowledge, are often novel and suggestive.

Two distinct subjects are treated of in these lectures. The two last lectures are devoted to a study of India's foreign exchanges, the so-called "drain" which is such a stock subject with orators dilating upon "India's wrongs." These chapters contain not only an admirable exposition of the matter, but also a great deal of most interesting information regarding other countries—the United States, Egypt, Japan, and so forth—and are well worthy the attention of the reader.

The seven other chapters are devoted to exhibiting and illustrating the contrast between the self-contained village

\* "The Economic Transition in India," by Theodore Morison, F.O.I.R. London: John Murray.

communities of India with what Sir Theodore calls their "archaic" system of production, and the expansive organization of the modern industrial world. What is said is excellent, and, although I might occasionally wish to qualify some passing statement, I think that all who know will agree with the substance of what the author has so clearly put. But I wish that my friend had carried out his own propositions to their logical conclusion. It is to indicate that line of thought that I write this paper.

When we talk of the industrial revolution we usually mean the economic revolution, which began with the invention of the steam-engine, and which, roughly speaking, dates in England from about the year 1760. That is the sense which Toynbee and other writers have given to the words; it is also the sense in which our author uses them. Now, of manufacturing industry on a large scale very little is to be seen in India—indeed practically nothing outside a few great cities which are mostly of our own creation, chiefly Bombay, Calcutta, and Cawnpore. The mill-hands of these cities are a novel feature in India, and Indian capitalists are bestirring themselves to follow the example of Europe; but it cannot be said that manufacture on a great scale has seriously affected as yet the economic constitution of Indian society, or that there is any prospect that it will do so for a considerable time to come. If this be the only sign of an economic transition, it is comparatively insignificant. But everyone feels in a dim sort of way that a great economic change is coming over the country, that it has long been in progress, that it has materially affected the condition of the masses; and must ultimately alter materially the constitution of Indian society. Sir Theodore has very clearly sketched the two opposite poles of industrial production. What are the intermediate stages? and at what point does India stand? In order to make my answer intelligible, I must commence with certain rather general statements.

Our author has very admirably described for us the

Indian village community on its economic side—its isolation and self-sufficiency, the imperfect division of labour, and the subordinate position of the craftsman. The modern industrial world, as he says, is the opposite of this: it is founded on the interdependence of all the parts, and the devotion of all the capital and all the labour of the community to conjoint production. Reduced to its simplest elements, the contrast may be stated thus: Every community and every family requires certain articles—food, clothing, and the like—for its sustenance; now, it may either produce itself all that it requires, or it may satisfy its wants by a system of exchange. Both elements exist in every society; every society produces something that it exchanges, and something also that it consumes. The wives of African cannibals attend stated markets, and we owe the introduction of most of our common plants and domesticated animals to the barter as well as to the migrations of neolithic tribes. Both elements always coexist, but with a difference. If the labours of the community are primarily directed to produce what it consumes, then that community is in the so-called "archaic" stage, or what Aristotle would have termed "the stage according to nature." Exchange plays only a small part in the economic constitution of the society; it is not a determining factor. If, on the other hand, the society subsists mainly by exchanging what it produces for what it requires, whether the exchange be with outsiders or *inter se*, then the industrial evolution has begun. The conditions of exchange become the predominant consideration, and determine the whole constitution of the society. The transition is from a stage of self-sufficiency to a stage of interdependence. Or, to put it more concretely, the first stage may be termed agricultural, since agriculture is practised for self-support by all except the lowest savages; while the second stage is commercial. The agricultural stage is primary and universal, the commercial stage is secondary and exceptional.

The manufacturing era is a corollary and a development of

the commercial stage. It can only arise when for the purposes of exchange, production on a large scale has become the most profitable. When that time comes, all the most profitable methods of production will be speedily discovered —the concentration of capital, the aggregation and subdivision of labour, the skill to use both to the greatest advantage. But all this would be worthless were the market not sufficiently large. Commerce must precede, or at least be concomitant with, manufacture, and manufacture cannot outrun commerce. At the same time, where manufacture becomes the predominant feature of any society, it affects the distribution of wealth and the constitution of that society so greatly that it must be sharply distinguished from the commercial stage. We have, therefore, three stages of economic development: first, the agricultural, where men live by themselves producing all that they require; next, the commercial, where men live by exchange of their own or other men's productions; and, lastly, the manufacturing, where men unite to produce solely for the purpose of exchange.

Between the production of wealth and the constitution of society there is an intimate connection. At every stage of human progress from the time of neolithic man, wealth has gone hand in hand with power, provided that it be acquired in accordance with the public conscience and social ideals, and that it consists in what the community most values. In the agricultural stage, land and men to cultivate the land are the sources of power. In this stage economic considerations are altogether subordinate. Production is limited to a bare subsistence, and whatever there is of a surplus goes to enrich the chief. The bonds of social union and the ideas which rule the minds of men are to be found elsewhere—in the tribe and family, in brotherhood, in religion, in the obligations of feudalism, and so forth. An economic advance is made when mercantile considerations rule the State; we have now reached the commercial stage, where colonies are founded and wars are waged that new markets

may be acquired. A new class springs up—nobles turn into bankers, and merchants become princes. The capitalist and the trader are a power in the land. It generally happens, however, that the transition is gradual from the agricultural to the commercial stage. The two overlap, and thus disguise to some extent the transition which is going on. This was the case with England in the eighteenth century,\* and it is the case with India in the present day. In the manufacturing era economic co-operation is supreme, and the economic conditions become vital to a society which devotes all its energy to the maximum of production. Material production is the essential, if not the only, social nexus, and the social revolution keeps pace with the economic. The weaver, the miner, the artisan, all the classes of hand-workers who had hitherto been subordinate and dependent on the rest of the community, now occupy the foremost place, and form the most influential class. The miners of Midlothian are, now, I suppose, as well paid, as well educated, and as prosperous as any class of working-men in Great Britain; till near the close of the eighteenth century the last vestiges of serfdom were to be found among them.

In passing I shall add one further explanation. The ordinary political economy deals with certain motives—competition, saving, bargaining, and so forth—which are inherent in human nature and to be found in every society. Now, these motives have full and unrestricted play only in the commercial stage, a stage which found its fullest expression in Great Britain at the time when Adam Smith and

\* In "The Deserted Village" Goldsmith has drawn a vivid picture of the change:

"A time there was, ere England's griefs began,  
When every rood of ground maintained its man;  
For him light labour spread her wholesome store,  
Just gave what life required, and gave no more:  
His best companions, innocence and health;  
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth."

And these are all destroyed by "trade's unfeeling train," to the poet's righteous indignation.

the early economists formulated their theories. But in both the other stages the action of these motives is much more limited : in the agricultural stage it is limited by custom and has little scope, and in the manufacturing stage it is limited by intentional regulation. Take competition. Sir T. Morison, as an orthodox economist, is fond of showing, and he rightly shows, that competition exists in India among agricultural communities where custom is supposed to rule with absolute sway. All this is true, but are not these cases, or at least the majority of them, proof of a transition ? Some form of competition is probably to be found in most archaic societies, but it is always a disturbing and not a dominating element. As a matter of fact, in many villages of India and many tracts of country competition is fast becoming a predominant factor, because production is now wholly devoted to the market ; in other words, the commercial stage has been reached. But before the advent of the British Raj competition was wanting, as it is wanting now in isolated tracts of country, because it had no opportunity. And if competition is restricted in the primary stage of human society, it is also restricted in the final or manufacturing era. The very object of that co-operation which is implied in the use of joint capital and specialized labour, is not only to produce the maximum of wealth, but to restrain unremunerative and suicidal competition. Industrial trusts and labour combinations are its highest expression. In this restriction of competition the lowest and the highest forms of industrial economy agree.

We have seen that the manufacturing stage does not exist in India outside one or two centres, like Bombay. But the commercial expansion of India dates from the establishment of the English, Dutch, and French factories in the seventeenth century. The first result was the rise of Bengal. Down to the middle of the seventeenth century Bengal had been a place of exile to the Moghal official, a country where a few Brahmans and Kayasths were settled among a mass of semi-Hinduized aborigines, and which was

surrounded by a barbarian fringe. The wealth brought by the foreign factories made it in little more than fifty years the richest province in India, and the only one which yielded a steady revenue to the Moghal Treasury. The process which enriched Bengal has extended itself to the whole of India, and has everywhere produced, or is producing, an economic revolution. Among the numberless effects of this revolution I select two for an examination which must necessarily be confined to a bare and incomplete outline of the subject. I propose to show some of the effects it has had (1) on the agricultural tenant, and (2) on the agricultural labourer.

From immemorial days the Hindu theory of rent has been that the superior, the *Rajah* or *Sirkar*, or whoever else might be entitled to the claim, should appropriate a certain proportion of the produce of the land in return for protection and the security of the cultivator in his holding. The ancient Hindu law-books speak of this proportion as a variable one—usually one-sixth to one-fourth of the crop. This does not necessarily imply any special clemency on the part of the superior; it may be, and often doubtless was, equally due to the inferiority of the cultivation. For obvious reasons, the poorer the crop the smaller is the proportion which the superior can take, since the cultivator has to live, and the amount which he requires for his support being fairly constant, very little may be left over for the rent. Moreover, land being everywhere available, it was much easier to sow a large area broadcast than to practise intensive agriculture. The only inference to be drawn from the low proportion paid in Hindu days is that tillage was poor. Under the Moghals the rate was sensibly increased; one-fourth of the crop was the lowest which they deigned to take, one-half was usual, they occasionally took two-thirds. That is to say, they nominally professed to take these proportions, but in practice both the *Sirkar* and the middleman extorted what they could from the weakness or the independence of the ryots. Even in Tuscany,

where the *mezadria* (or *metayer*) system still prevails, and the customary rate is supposed to be observed, the actual amount of the produce which the landlord receives is dependent mainly on his own vigilance and the relative cunning of the grower. As in Tuscany, so in India—at least theoretically—the superior advanced the seed-grain and the farming stock, a thing only possible where the domain was very limited. The Mahomedan Governments considered this no part of their duty, although they occasionally made advances in exceptional circumstances. The custom, therefore, if it was ever general, fell into disuse; but even in the nineteenth century the Begum Sumroo was not only the ruler, but also the sole capitalist of the Sirdhana Raj. But this is by the way.

Payment of rent by a fixed proportion of the crop means payment in kind, but this method of payment is only adapted to the commoner crops, those which require the least labour and are raised for home consumption. To produce something specially for the market the cultivator must produce something more valuable; he must certainly expend greater labour, and he may have to incur considerable outlay for seed and for manure. He cannot afford, or at any rate he will not willingly agree, to give anything like the same proportion of the crop; nor would the landlord willingly receive produce in kind which might be valueless to himself. The cultivator disposes of his produce in the market for cash, and in cash he pays his rent. This is the beginning of cash rents; they begin with the more valuable crops alone—with sugar-cane, and indigo, and opium, and the like. This change began under the Moghal Government; a man paid a cash-rent for his sugar-cane, while he divided the produce of his harley-fields with the landlord. Traces of this practice survived in my day in Rohilkhand. It was in this fashion that the European factories in Bengal first made their influence on agriculture felt. They demanded sugar-cane, and opium, and indigo, and the like, and they brought bullion in exchange. Thus

they set in motion the movement from rents in kind to rents in cash. When the English took over the administration of the country the system of a cash settlement for a term of years brought home to the landlord the advantages of a money rent in place of a rent in kind which was always both variable and open to dispute. The change spread rapidly. In the United Provinces A. and O. cash rents had become very general by 1830, and during the latter part of the century payment in kind was confined to lands where the outturn was precarious and the tenant was unwilling to bind himself. It lingered longest in the districts at the foot of the Himalayas. Villages which bordered on the Terai, fields contiguous to the forest and subject to the ravages of wild animals, lands which were subject to frequent inundations, poor outlying soils dependent entirely on the rains—these were proper for the practice of *balai*, there alone the custom lingered.

Thus the change from payment of rent in kind to payment in cash is concomitant with two other things—first, a change in the character of the crops that are growing, and, second, a decline in the relative amount which the landlord receives. A fixed cash rent is a direct incitement to the cultivator to grow crops for the market, precisely as payment in kind will lead him to grow chiefly what he can himself consume. In this way wheat has largely supplanted barley, and the rain-weather crops which formerly supplied a great part of the villagers' food are now of minor importance, and cultivated chiefly for fodder for the cattle. In other words, the villagers now depend upon the market; they subsist by a system of exchange. And this revolution has taken place throughout a great part of Northern India.

I have said that the transition to cash rents conceals a relative decline in the rent. At the time that money rates were fixed, they probably did represent the value of the former proportion—say one-half—very fairly. But silver became more plentiful, and the crops improved in quality

and in value, so that in process of time the proportion fell markedly. In the sixties and seventies of last century it was generally calculated that in the Gangetic Doab and Rohilkhand the rent amounted to only one-fourth or one-fifth of the ordinary crop ; but in the case of valuable crops like sugar-cane it might be less than one-twentieth. We thus reach a further stage of economic development, where there is a differentiation of tenants, and competition begins.

Under native Governments the upper classes, the *Ashraf*, were alone allowed to engage for the land revenue with Government, or to cultivate the land. The impure castes were helots ; they might cultivate a field or two for themselves, but their chief business was to cultivate their masters' fields. Nor could they leave the village in any numbers, for had their masters complained to the Governor that they had not sufficient hands, the Governor would have seized the fugitives and forced them to return. Wittingly or unwittingly, the English changed all this. They placed no restrictions on migration, and they allowed everyone who brought ownerless lands under cultivation to engage for the payment of the revenue. The waste lands were in most places spacious and wide ; some were ownerless, but the greater part was nominally owned by one or other Rajah or by some big zemindar.

Despite the opposition and the outcries of the *Ashraf*, a very large exodus of their former serfs took place, and the reclamation of the jungle and of the wide uninhabited areas is entirely due to these men. At a somewhat later date those who remained behind brought the waste lands belonging to the village under the plough, when cultivation of them became profitable. Thus two classes of cultivators have grown up — the old *Ashraf*, high-caste Brahmans, lordly Thakurs of the Doab, impecunious Rajputs of Oudh, well-born yeoman who cannot follow the plough, and will not demean themselves by menial labour ; and, on the other hand, a multitude of the lower castes, many of whom pride themselves on their agricultural skill. These latter have

gained wealth ; and with wealth there has come a spirit of independence and an aspiration after social ideals.

Many of the lower castes now profess such a standard of Hindu purity as ought, they consider, to put them on a social par with, or not far beneath, their former superiors. In any case they are able to look down upon their former associates, a fact which must give them still greater pleasure. Thus a social revolution follows the economic one. But while public feeling forbids the zemindar to deal harshly with the well-born Brahmans and Rajputs, whose title to cultivate the land is in popular estimation equal to his own, nothing prevents him from exacting a full toll from the lower castes ; and as they are split up into innumerable petty sections, competition among them is inevitable, with its natural consequent, a rise of rents. So marked is the distinction between the rent-paying capacity of the different castes that a very successful settlement of the land revenue in an Oudh district was based almost entirely on this difference.

In the United Provinces, then (and of them alone I speak from personal knowledge), agricultural society is in a transition state. In some parts of the country the village brotherhoods, with their old-fashioned ideals, are still strong; in other places they never existed, or never existed in strength, and they have broken down. Cultivation is largely determined by the market demand ; the commercial spirit is widely spread ; and a tendency to individualism, the invariable concomitant of commercialism, is sapping the former foundations of society. I must not attempt to appraise the mixed good and evil of the change. I need only point out that, while it has brought material well-being and social elevation to the masses, it is destroying those ideals of life and duty which were not only not ignoble in themselves, but were the highest that the countryside possessed. Of the competition for land and the over-population in Bihar and the districts adjacent to it, I say nothing here.

I have pointed out how production for the market pro-

moted the cultivation of the more valuable crops, how it led to the substitution of money rents for rents in kind, how by a further step it led to a differentiation among cultivators, and the rise of the more skilful of the lower castes. To them it brought wealth, and with wealth independence and an advance in the social scale. Thus the economic change has played a chief part in that uplifting of the lower classes which has been one of the principal effects of British rule. On the other hand, it has undermined the constitution of the old village communities, and is fast destroying many of the old social ideals. Having shown something of its effect on the peasantry, I should like to show in what way the economic revolution is affecting the agricultural labourer.

The agricultural labourer is descended from those bondsmen who, in former days, were the helots of the upper classes settled on the land. He represents the residuum which, from poverty or want of opportunity, did not migrate. He had always been paid in kind, and custom fixed the amount which he was entitled to receive. The rising prosperity of the cultivators availed him nothing. Even when he was paid in money instead of grain, he did not gain—nay, rather lost—by the exchange. His condition did not alter. In 1869 the pay of a ploughman in the rural parts of the Farakhabad District was two rupees per mensem, to which were added a blanket and a pair of shoes in the cold weather; it had not altered for at least forty years, and probably for a much longer period. Everybody allowed that it was inadequate, but custom had fixed it, and absolute starvation was the only power which could alter custom. It was otherwise in the neighbourhood of the great towns, where the presence of the troops or the wants of commerce created a demand. It was noted even before the end of the eighteenth century that in such cases wages and the hire of coolies rose with astonishing rapidity. They more than trebled in Calcutta within twenty or thirty years. But this did not appreciably affect the remoter countryside.

The field labourer remained as before, until the market for labour was brought to his door. And this happened when the era of railway construction began. Commerce depends upon transport and the means of carriage. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Ganges and its tributary streams were largely used for commercial purposes, and pack-animals and rude country carts carried considerable quantities of grain and other goods. But when railway construction began, the demand for unskilled labour was immense. The contractors' agents scoured the country far and wide for navvies. Most of the earthwork on the Allahabad-Jubulpur line was done by coolies who had been brought from the Doab and Oudh, and even as far away as Agra the supply of labour was affected. Railways have now penetrated into every district of the United Provinces, and the same results have everywhere followed. It is the railways which have led to the emancipation of the miserable Chumar.

The economic transition in India has therefore been long maturing; the two stages of economic development, the agricultural and the commercial, subsist side by side. The archaic type of society is still to be seen, but it is being largely modified by a spirit which is modern and derived from the West. In the transition there is cause for congratulation, cause also for regret. Everyone must lament with Major Keith, the loss of those artistic industries which produced the muslins of Dacca, the shawls of Kashmir, the gold-embroidered fabrics of Benares and Jubulpur, and many another article of refined taste and delicate design; such artistic industries, when once destroyed, can never be recovered. The village weaver is doomed to poverty, although it will be long before he is extinct. But it is not probable that India will attain what I have called the manufacturing stage within any measurable period which human foresight can survey. India must remain in the commercial stage for many a long decade yet; and it behoves everyone to do what he can to lessen the evils of the transition period.

## SOME IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA.\*

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

THE strength of the British rope is in its many strands, and a united Empire and a happy one is that in which the thoughts and purposes of its people are well twined together.

I have no desire but that of being useful in doing good, and recently made an extensive tour through India, which has been one of the most engaging interest, in order to acquaint myself very thoroughly with the condition of that vast Empire, for, unless we are well-informed on the subject and fully able to analyze the facts, to weigh the probable causes, and to put aside all prejudice and prepossessions, we are not in a condition to pronounce with certainty upon any questions at issue.

There is no country on earth so misunderstood as India, and no Government more misrepresented than the British, whose sympathy and justice is exorcising the curse that blights and blasts the lives of the peoples of India, and instead of miseries, their songs of joy are beginning to resound, and instead of tragedies, their lives are becoming full of sweetness and light.

British Administration in India is the miracle of history, notwithstanding the industrious misrepresentations of loose-tongued, loose-brained seditionists in India and traitors in England who should never be forgiven; they do not

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

understand forgiveness; and they should always be severely punished.

It occasioned me no little surprise to learn that the greater part of the trouble in India has not come from Indians, but from traitors in England, and meddlesome, ill-informed foreigners.

Let us examine some of the statements made by these self-appointed advocates in their colossal egotism and deficient wisdom. I shall take, first, William Jennings Bryan, who has become world-famed through always being on the wrong track, and his impressions of British Administration in India add very materially to that reputation. He says "the trouble is that England acquired India for England's advantage, not for India's, and that she holds India for England's, not for India's; she administers India with an eye to England's interest, not India's, and she passes judgment upon every question as a judge would were he permitted to decide his own case." I shall answer Mr. Bryan by quoting Theodore Roosevelt, the most remarkable citizen of the United States, who says British Administration in India "is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire." Indeed, it is a greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire.

"It is easy enough to point out short-comings, but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries.

"On the whole, it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the natives of India themselves."

"England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes; she spends for India the revenues raised for India; and they are spent for the benefit of Indians themselves."

"Undoubtedly, India is a less pleasant place than formerly for the heads of tyrannical States."

"There is now little or no room for the successful free-booter chieftains, for the despots who lived in gorgeous splendour while, under their cruel rule, the immense mass of their country festered in sodden misery. But the mass of the people have been, and are, better off than they would now be if the English control was overthrown or withdrawn. Indeed, if the English control was now withdrawn from India the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence; all the weaker peoples and the most industrious and law-abiding would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable wrong and oppression; and the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, the violent, and the blood-thirsty."

"I have seen many American missionaries who have come from India, and I cannot overstate the terms of admiration in which they speak of English rule in India, and of the incalculable benefit which it has conferred, and is conferring, upon the natives of India."

Sir Henry Cotton has pointed out that Mr. Roosevelt's conclusions are directly opposite to those of Mr. Bryan, who travelled in India and in the East, and then wrote his impressions after immature consideration. Mr. Roosevelt's speech was based on statements made to him by a number of missionaries who have lived very intimately with the natives of India for many years.

Mr. Bryan spent a few weeks in India, and I leave it to your judgment, ladies and gentlemen, as to which opinion is the better of the two.

Sir Henry says further: "While I have no desire to belittle the work of my countrymen in India; my own views, I do not mind saying, coincide with those of Mr. Bryan, who gave, I believe, a very fair appreciation of England's work in India. Comparatively speaking, I think America has made more progress in the Philippines than England has in India."

His comparison of the Philippine Islands with India is, to say the least, ridiculously absurd, and what an insult to

the peoples of that Empire, whose records tell the story of a civilization long one of the most far-reaching in the history of the world!

To enumerate the multiplicity of differences which exist between the Philippines and the vast Empire of India would take many hours. It is impossible to compare India with any other country in the world.

I must say, however, that the success which has attended American administration in the Philippines renders it an object of hearty congratulation.

It affords me unspeakable pleasure to assure you that eminent level-headed Indians, such as the late Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja of Bikanir, the Maharajah of Travancore, the Maharaja of Burdwan, and others too numerous to mention, emphasize the blessings of the British Government which has given India peace and prosperity upon the noblest terms, and by the noblest means.

In fact, the Maharaja Tagore pointed out to Mr. Keir Hardie, who said that there was only one people in India, "that India was a great conservative land, and was even more so under Eastern monarchs with a mass of different races, with different religions, opposing constitutions, and separate manners and customs, which go to make it extremely difficult to bring harmoniously together the different elements constituting the people. The British Government and the British race of commercial men have developed the country in such a way as no other nation or Government ever did in the past, not for their own interests only, but also for the benefit of the people."

And what have Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Keir Hardie and their friends got to say in reply to the manifesto signed by large numbers of responsible inhabitants of all parts of Bengal, which says: "We must not forget that, whatever its shortcomings, it is to British rule that we owe the present security of life and property, the spread of education and the progress that India is now making

according to modern civilized ideals"? And to the late Nizam of Hyderabad, who said: "Every Indian endowed with the least sense knew thoroughly well that the peace and prosperity which his country had enjoyed under the benign protection of the British Government would disappear the moment that protection was withdrawn or weakened. From his experience of twenty-three years as ruler of that State, (Hyderabad), he could say that the form of Government was far less important than the spirit of its administration. Sympathy for the people had been a marked characteristic of the Government of India, and the steps now being taken to associate the people more closely with the administration could not fail to bring that sympathy home to the Princes and people alike"?

John Stuart Mill, in declaring his belief that the British Government in India was "not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficent in act ever known among mankind," echoed the sentiments of all sensible men and women throughout the world; for it was not until the establishment of British rule that India was free from murderous invasions. For centuries men, women, and children were robbed and mutilated, and their arteries painted the ground with their innocent blood. Imagine on one occasion no less than 30,000 chopped and torn to pieces in the streets of Delhi. Never were there such tales of pillage, cruelty, slaughter, despair, bereavement, unutterable wrong and sadness. Under British rule the throwing of children to the crocodiles in the Ganges, the leaping of widows on the funeral pyres of husbands, the swinging of devotees on iron hooks, the self-torture of fakirs and the brutal treatment of females have all disappeared.

Under British rule India has risen from the ashes of her bitter past, and has over 30,000 miles of railway—one of the finest properties in the world—over which 375,000,000 people travelled last year; 110,000 miles of telegraph wire; 50,000 miles of canals and distributaries; 22,000,000 acres

irrigated, which will be increased to about 28,000,000, at an additional cost of £30,000,000, within the next ten years ; a postal system carrying 700,000,000 letters annually ; schools, colleges, hospitals, homes, asylums, police-stations, courts and every other blessing known to civilization ; the land has been transformed from a barren waste to a market value of £300,000,000, and her export and import trade has within about forty years increased from £40,000,000 to £200,000,000.

And this has been accomplished, mark you, by a handful of men in a vast Empire, the peoples of which number 315,000,000, and are the absolute antithesis of themselves. Peoples speaking 180 different languages, and divided by over 2,000 castes and tribal barriers. These are facts and figures which must confuse seditionists and traitors, and delight and thrill every true son and daughter of Britain.

I was much impressed with the solicitude of the officials for the interest and welfare of the people ; and, but for a few exceptions who would benefit by a term in an academy of manners, I found them obliging, attractive gentlemen. I agree most heartily with Stevens that England does not want scholars to govern India so much as men and gentlemen of good physique, unimpeachable integrity, unbending strength of will, abundant common-sense and tact. The one quality that is more useful than another in the world, if one wishes to achieve anything whatever, is tact. Brute force may succeed, but then again it may fail, and in either case it leaves an unpleasant memory behind it ; but if tact fails, all is still serene, and one may try again with equanimity.

A certain amount of opposition is a great help to a man. Kites rise against and not with the wind. Even a headwind is better than none. No man ever worked his passage anywhere in a dead calm. Firmness and gentleness work together far more efficiently than either could alone. The strength that is allied to sweetness has a far deeper and wider influence than would be possible were it accompanied

hy bitter criticism. "The Indian peoples," says the Hon. Syed Husain Bilgrami, "love an autocratic official, provided he is sympathetic and just. They even prefer a high-handed man if he is accessible and kind. Above all, they love a gentleman, and will do anything for him. Many an English administrator has left behind him a name which is a household word in our villages and towns, and is written indelibly on the hearts of the people."

Britishers must never delude themselves into believing that they, as a body, have succeeded in gaining the affections of the peoples of India. No foreigners have ever accomplished thisfeat. In justice, however, it must be remembered that the estrangement is not due to British haughtiness, but in a great measure to the Hindu belief that if a man of high caste were to dine with the highest official he would be polluted, and this insane idea permeates the whole native community.

I very much doubt if there is a body of administrators in the world to surpass the Civil Service of India; but I do think the term of office which is allowed to the officials is altogether too short for them to become thoroughly acquainted with the habits, wants and feelings of the people.

India needs the best men India can produce—men like Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of Bengal; Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay; Sir Charles Bayley, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam; and Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

We must not forget the women who have gone far away from all the comforts of an English home to an exhausting climate, and who have given all the choice riches of their sympathy to the cares of their husbands, and interwoven the fibre of their noble lives for ever in the work of India.

Sidney Low tells the following touching story of a civilian with his wife and baby-girl, twenty months old, in a disturbed district near the Frontier. The Mâhsuds are disaffected, and roving hands are on the prowl all over the

country. The husband's duties compel him to spend the whole day in a survey camp twenty miles away. Before he rides out he puts a loaded revolver in the wife's hand : "If the Pathans come, shoot the child first, and then shoot yourself." When next you are inclined to talk lightly of Anglo-Indian womanhood, think of this little scene—the young mother, standing there in the dim morning light with the pistol clenched in her hand, while the husband, after that grim farewell address, calmly mounts his horse and goes forth to do his spell of daily work for a forgetful Government and an unappreciative people.

Whatever system of Government interferes with or changes the customs and prejudice of individuals must provide a powerful organization for enforcing its command.

In an Empire like India, with its marked and bitter harriers, where disaffection has always existed, and where trouble may any day break out, a strong army is necessary, and never in the existence of British rule was it more necessary for the Government to be able to protect itself against all attacks from without or from within than at the present moment. Lord Dufferin considered twenty-five years ago that the army, which was raised by him to its present total, was necessary for the happiness and protection of the people of India. Sir John Strachey says that "nothing is too foolish or too extravagant for almost universal acceptance. Ominous signs from time to time appear which ought to remind us how easily in India a terrible conflagration may be lighted up. There is no limit to the liability of such a population to be influenced by the assurances or suggestions of religious fanatics and political agitators, or to be disturbed by interference with its prejudices and beliefs, or with the methods of Government to which it has been accustomed."

In spite of the necessity of a powerful army in India at the present time, I do emphatically believe that the day will come when the races inhabiting that country will see the wild folly of engaging in sanguinary struggles; but the

growth of their wisdom will be slow. Action and reaction are equal; the fighting instinct has been impressed on their nature by hereditary transmission for countless generations, and we cannot hope to make them peaceful all of a sudden. Little by little they are learning something of the laws that govern their hitherto mysterious existence, and I have good hopes that by and by they may learn to be mutually helpful, so that their span of life may be passed with as much happiness as possible. They will strive against each other, but the striving will not be carried on to an accompaniment of slaughter and torture. There are keen forms of competition which, so far from being painful, give positive pleasure to those who engage in them; there are triumphs which satisfy the victor without mortifying the vanquished; and I hold that such harmless forms of competition will take the place of the brutal strife that adds senselessly to the sum of human woe. So many different changes have taken place in the course of even one hundred years that the final change which shall abolish bloodshed is almost certain to come.

I would not make the peoples of India or any other country less patriotic, but more generously so. Let the whole round world be a man's country, and every man in it his countryman and an object of manly consideration.

All efforts to make war humane will eventually fail, for war means the destruction of life and property. How the destruction of either life or property can be made pleasant to those who wish to live and have something to live upon is beyond the average man's understanding. Because modern surgery is more "humane," it has not increased the desire to lose a limb. If we should conclude to use rubber balls in place of iron shells, and fill them with popcorn, and scatter food to the enemy itself, we should make the whole serious contention a farce, and the heroes of the conflict more deserving of statues of putty than of marble. War means a fight to the death of the individual, and one generally prefers a sudden "taking off" to a prolonged

termination. And it makes little difference to the soldier at the front whether a bullet is used that kills one, a whole lot, or just kills one! The torpedo that rends a battleship, bringing immediate unconsciousness to the whole crew, is far preferable to being wounded and left on the bleeding field to make a slow and painful acquaintance with death. The first and final step to be taken is not to try to make war more attractive, but to stop it altogether. All the nations of the world talk about peace, but they cannot hear what each other is saying for the sound of hammers with which men are beating cruisers and battleships together, which, according to the *Times* of October 11, will cost Great Britain during the current financial year £44,882,047; France, £16,705,382; Russia, £13,720,376; Germany, £22,031,788; Italy, £8,379,940; Austria-Hungary, £5,152,582; the United States, £26,584,371; and Japan, £8,803,015.

There is no need for a Napoleon of arms so long as there is a Napoleon of statesmanship, for the State might better become peacefully strenuous than belligerently so. And, furthermore, the apparent prosperity ensuing in time of strife is seen later to have been but the active assumption of future obligation, and that when the war is over it is still on, and that for generations the tax-collector makes war upon our industry and our substance. So whether men dance in times of peace or war, they must pay the Fiddler of Events, whose Business Manager is Time.

I feel that I cannot pass over a reference to the Throne which Mr. Keir Hardie made on July 25, 1910, when he said he "regarded the existence of a King as a proof of lunacy among the people. . . . Those who assumed that the people of this country were intensely loyal made a profound mistake. For the past thirty or forty years all the people had known about royalty had been the parades and the shows, and the pictures in the weekly newspapers."

It must be a great consolation, however, to all loyal lunatics throughout the British Empire—and particularly

the peoples of India, who have such a keen hereditary love for royalty, to know that we have in Mr. Keir Hardie, whom the Maharaja of Burdwan designated the "Sirdar of the White Coolies," a wise traitor as keeper. In the statements regarding India and the Throne, made from his pedestal of wisdom, it is rather unfortunate that he has left so many glaring loopholes for the lunatics in England and India to see through.

I have a particular interest in dealing with this statement of Mr. Hardie's, for the late King Edward sent me an autographed photograph to be used as a frontispiece to my book on India, and you can imagine that such an honour from so great a man flattered my vanity.

I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to express the grief of the world at a loss so overwhelming as the death of King Edward, the most popular monarch that has ever adorned any throne, who, in one of his speeches, pointed out that "rulers of States can set before themselves no higher aims than the promotion of international good understanding and cordial friendship among the nations of the world."

King Edward was invaluable in every sphere, for he possessed the strongest of all weapons—tact. He had the power of doing and saying the right thing at the right moment and in the right way. He kept track of the silent march of human affairs, and seized with happy intuition the entangled and complex problems of State, and fulfilled his duty with a spirited sagacity to be envied by every statesman. Every step he made was vastly in his favour. King Edward bent all the force of his understanding, and directed all his thoughts and actions to the good of his country. Never was there a King more worthy of admiration and esteem than Edward VII.—the Apostle of Peace—who guided the ship of State with a chart of which there is no duplicate. There was something so kind, so unostentatious and unaffected in the whole course of his life, that every Britisher feels that he has lost in the King a father as well

as a friend. The essence of King Edward's deeds shall live until time shall be no more.

Sir Jamshedjee Jejeebhoy, the head of the Parsi community, in a magnificent speech at the King Edward Memorial Meeting in Bombay, expressed the feelings of 99½ per cent. of the peoples of India when he said : "That, despite anarchy and outrage, the great heart of India is sound at the core, and while the traditions that animate the Royal Family live and continue, this vast Empire will yield to none in its loyalty and homage to the Throne."

Beyond all honour or even wealth is the attachment we form to a noble man like King George, who is following very happily in his father's footsteps. His Majesty's visit to India displays great tact, and is material evidence of his love for his Indian subjects, as well as a desire to perpetuate kindly relations, for the welfare of Great Britain and India depends upon a correct understanding of one another and unity of effort.

To be successful, rulers must win their people by love. Amongst the emotions that move the heart of man, love is certainly the one that has the greatest empire over him; it rules the soul so imperiously that all passions are crushed by it. Love is, indeed, the great motive-power of life.

The Royal Family are loved, and admired for their sterling qualities and the services they have rendered to the Empire in every possible avenue. They never held a position so firm as at present in any age of our history.

I should like to impress upon Mr. Keir Hardie and those of his type that no cowardice is so great as that found in want of truth. His statements about India and the Throne are as unjust as they are untrue. It would be well for Mr. Hardie and his friends to digest the wise counsel of that eminent Indian, the Hon. B. Tyabji, who says : "To have power a reformer should manifest a love of truth by exactness and accuracy in his statements and representations. Exaggerations have never been helpful in reform; they have retarded, but have never advanced, a cause. Exag-

gerations give room for an enemy to oppose with effect. Exact, unexaggerated truth is the best weapon for reform, for the very reason that it is nothing but the truth. Obtain exact statistics and information. Keep that information before the people. Prevent strangulation of thought, welcome every sign of progress, however small. Persuasion is better than declamation or abuse. Criticism of Government method is the right and prerogative of the subject, but criticism has greater weight when accompanied with appreciation of the underlying motive of Government, and does not confound accidental irregularities and mistakes with the true purpose of the ruling power. The surest and quickest way for India to obtain redress of wrongs and greater privileges is to appreciate in English rule what is worthy of appreciation, and criticize from the position of a friend and not from the position of an enemy."

I shall now leave traitors and seditious in their ignominy before the eyes of the ages.

The Durbar will not be a show, but one of the giant mile-posts in history; for it is the first occasion on which a King-Emperor has visited India to receive the homage of his people; and I think it most appropriate that the ceremony should take place in the ancient capital of Delhi, which stood before the first historian impressed his first word in clay, or cut his first word in marble, or wrote his first word on papyrus. We know that Delhi existed longer before Christ's time than we live after His time. Delhi is built on the ruins of seven cities, which ruins cover fourteen miles with wrecked temples, broken fortresses, split tombs tumbled down palaces, and the débris of centuries. An archaeologist could profitably spend his life here talking with the past through its lips of venerable masonry.

To the Eastern mind there is a familiarity and holiness in a Durbar which arise out of religion and immemorial usages. Every sovereign of India has had his Durbar, and every chief and noble of the present day have theirs;

for it is an imperative feature in the ceremonial life of the country.

I have been much amused at the impossible stories concerning the fearful cost and *drain* on the peoples of India, and went carefully into the details of the late King-Emperor's Durbar. Now, what do you think was the actual cost?—one-sixth part of a penny per head of the entire community! Just imagine it; they paid much less than a farthing, and received eight times that sum through indirect relief from taxation. Another interesting fact is that the Government ceased to exact any interest for a period of three years upon all loans that had been made or guaranteed by the Government of India to Native States in connection with the last famine.

Matters were so arranged that down to the smallest detail every farthing was considered, and came back in some form or another. Endless thousands of natives in every town and village in India received employment and splendid wages, so that from the financial, as well as the ceremonial side, the peoples of India were of quite a different opinion from that of their shrieking, self-appointed advocates. From what I can learn there is a movement on foot to try and persuade King George to arrange a Durbar every year.

Most of the vexed questions of the day, and many of the problems which tax the ingenuity of statesmen, reformers, and philanthropists, are being solved by the great civilizing influence of the railways. Industry is essentially social. No man can improve either himself or his neighbour without neighbourly help; and to better India is to set India to work together. The intercourse with one another is destroying all the ancient and cherished griefs from which at any moment trouble would spring if it were not for the strong arm of Government. All the alienation and ill-feeling that poison the domestic and social life in India come from a spirit of intolerance, fortified by ignorance, and the railways are performing one of the most important parts

of all education, for they are crushing the antagonistic caste barriers, and warming the peoples into sympathy by contact. The people of India are beginning to realize the discomforts of the strait-jackets of caste and cold reserve, and becoming more cordial and conciliatory. They forget their differences when they meet on the fields of commerce, which are the intermediary steps that lie between the base and pinnacle of unity.

Every department of Indian life is being purified, exalted, and made more valuable by the railways, which are managed by a charming and most competent body of men.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget, Mr. Montagu said that the railways accounted for £1,272,000 of the surplus last year, figures which must be very pleasing to the authorities.

It is interesting to note here that when English rule commenced in India there was not a single good road in the country, nor a mile of railway; and that when the first engine was started on February 18, 1852, its effect upon the scepticism of the natives as to the value of the railway was remarkable. The *Bombay Quarterly Review* of April, 1855, says: "Their so-called apathy was aroused into eager curiosity and enthusiastic delight as they witnessed the wonderful performance of that fleet and powerful machine. The daily scene became a perfect fair; natives of all castes assembled in thousands to witness the new monster, and were attended with every accessory to show that the occasion was regarded by them as one of rejoicing, and of extraordinary interest and attraction."

So erroneous were the prognostications of the failure of passenger traffic, that the natives, down even to the lowest orders, immediately availed themselves of the new mode of conveyance; and one of the very first points publicly mooted upon the subject was the question whether the members of a poor and despicable caste should be permitted to travel by the ordinary trains unless a separate carriage were provided for them.

An interesting comparison may bere be made between the third-class "Parliamentary" fares of England—viz., one penny a mile (which is equivalent to the Indian first-class fare, viz., one anna a mile)—and the third-class by ordinary train fare charged by the G.I.P. Railway—viz., two pies or two-thirds of a farthing a mile.

Even with such microscopic fares, the bargaining spirit of the natives of this country frequently comes to light in the matter of the purchase of tickets, and it is by no means unusual for the booking-clerk to receive offers of sums smaller than the legal fare, such offers being very gradually increased, even perhaps at the cost of missing more than one train. Should a train on arrival be found to have plenty of room, that fact is occasionally put forward as a reason why the low fare tendered should be accepted. In the earlier years of the railway the natives have been known to wait several days at a station thinking to tire out the patience of the booking-clerk. I am indebted to Mr. Frank J. Clark, of the G.I.P. Railway, for the interesting facts in relation to the first railway.

Under British administration India is changing with a magic suddenness, and is thinking to-day as it never thought before. The great heart of the peoples of India is beating with a rapidity and intensity altogether without precedent in the history of the race. The sleep of ages is over; the lethargy of many generations has drawn to its close, and thick and fast the problems are gathering and clamouring for solution.

The ignorance of the people is the greatest danger to which the Indian Empire is exposed, and it delights me to learn that the Government is doing everything within its power to destroy this evil by promoting education, which is the basis of national destiny.

The problem to be solved is the adaptation of an educational system which will open out the undeveloped nature of the peoples of India, to bring out their faculties and impart skill in their use; to set the seeds of many powers

growing ; to teach as large and as varied a knowledge of human nature, both their own and the world about them, as possible ; to give them, according to their circumstances, the largest practicable acquaintance with life, what it is composed of morally, intellectually and materially, and how to deal with it.

Education is not first or chiefly the mere learning of certain facts or principles ; it is such a development and training of faculty as makes a man master of himself and his conditions. Each one must build his character for himself, and the best service that can be rendered to any man is to enable him to build it upon firm foundations and with enduring materials. It is very imperative that we remember here that mal-information is more hopeless than non-information, for error is always more busy than ignorance. Ignorance is a blank sheet on which we may write, but error is a scribbled one from which we must first erase.

Buffon pertinently says : "The education of the parrot has been compared to that of the child ; it would be more correct to compare that of the child to that of the parrot." For the memory may be well stored, arranged, packed—(sometimes it seems as if it had been hermetically sealed) ; but if the mind has not also been taught to think and act for itself, drawn out (educated) to independent exercise, it is worse than useless. Of the two methods referred to, the first has been compared to giving a man a cord of wood, and the second to teaching him the use of his axe and opening the woods for him to cut for himself. These two systems, technically called the "pouring-in" and the "drawing-out" systems, are as different in their results as daylight from darkness. Education is not knowledge, but a healthy development.

There are various reasons which render it an imperative duty for us to adapt ourselves, in our teachings, to the comprehension of the young mind.

First, in everything else we adapt our means to the end.

Why not in this? We do not attempt to build a fire with cold water, nor endeavour by talking Greek to convince one who understands only English; but this would be as rational as to try to kindle up a young mind by unintelligible words, or stimulate the brain to activity by piling up the memory with ponderous, dry, uninteresting facts.

Second, the facts and truths most fully comprehended make the most lasting impressions. It is true that sometimes words, meaningless to the child when uttered, may afterwards spring up and bring forth fruit; but how much greater the chances if, by adapting ourselves to the understanding of the child, we can make the seed take root at first, if we can cause the mind to grow with the body's growth and strengthen with its strength:

"The pebble in the streamlet scant  
Has turned the course of many a river;  
The dewdrop on the infant plant  
May warp the giant oak for ever."

Impressions made in childhood are deepest, consequently of most importance. It has been said that those impressions made upon the child before he has reached the age of five years do more to form his mind and character than any and all after-impressions, even though not one event that occurred before that period should be remembered. Little can we recall of the impressions, thoughts, words, and acts that led to others, and others still, which have made up our minds and character. They themselves have long since passed from our memory; but their influence abides for eternity. And shall we allow this important period to pass away unimproved? Shall we suffer the mind to outgrow this plastic, impressible period without studying so to adapt ourselves to its intelligence as to make the clearest and best impression? Let us remember that not words alone, but every act or look or motion understood by the child, teaches good or evil. When we consider that the mind, at first so plastic and impressible, becomes hardened with increasing years, how momentous

seems the responsibility of those who guard it in childhood and infancy!

Third, by studying to adapt ourselves to a child's intelligence the lessons conveyed are made pleasant, and inspire a love of learning and thinking; while by merely loading the memory with unintelligible truths we induce apathy or disgust; study becomes drudgery, and lessons are passed over in the most superficial manner. No surer method could be taken to make the mind dread and avoid all study in after years.

By adapting ourselves to the child's comprehension we descend far enough to help him up to our own standard, and take the most effective method to teach him to think, and to love to think and reason for himself; to search, observe, compare and study. We thus develop and expand the mind, while the opposite course shuts it up, or cramps, dwarfs it and cripples the mental faculties. Our great object must be, not to make the mind a passive, stupid recipient of facts, but to create that love of study and mental activity which shall lead it to explore for itself in the fields of knowledge. We must wind up the watch that it may go itself.

The true ideal that should fill a man's heart and fire his energies is excellence in his own sphere, the living of his own particular life just as fully and nobly as he—not somebody else—can. True, this is an unknown quality, but it is a real and attainable one. Day by day it is rising, and day by day he feels conscious of increased power. Whither it may lead him he cannot tell, but that by its guidance he will go further and accomplish more than by any other he may rest assured. Whoever cherishes this aim will find scope for every faculty, full work for every day, and full satisfaction in every success. Attempting nothing impossible, he is doomed to no inevitable disappointment, nor is there any limit at which he may cease to strive.

It must be remembered that there are two factors essential in order for man to attain his ideal—the requisite

quantity and quality of food, and a healthy condition of the digestive organs. There is a very intimate relation between brain and stomach which the peoples of India do not seem to realize. They must work harmoniously together if the best results are to be obtained. Braio exhaustion and continuous depressing emotions, worry and anxiety cause derangement of digestion by retarding the secretion of fluids upon which digestion depends. On the other hand, food in insufficient or in excessive quantities, and indigestible food, affect the brain by causing sluggishness of thought and diminution of mental vigour. Brain and stomach cannot perform their functions to best advantage simultaneously.

Sir John Strachey says that " Indian schools and colleges give, in the English language, a more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their own country, or about the Government under which they live, and, least of all, are they taught to be good and loyal citizens." The truth of this statement has been emphasized very frequently, as well as the urgent necessity for the training of teachers, who are, in a great measure, responsible for the development of the minds of the coming generations.

While in India I read an article in the *Oriental Review* of Bombay which said that " the modern educational system is principally charged with two things : (1) that it does not prepare boys and girls for the struggle of life ; (2) that it does not develop a proper ethical calibre. The modern world is essentially a business world; and will not tolerate any system which does not give sound business instruction."

There was a time when some of the colleges of the world looked with contempt upon the practical side of learning. " What ! " said the Professor, " going to turn education into a money-making machine ? " Education was regarded as purely the adornment, the peacock-feathers of the mind. If

a man were strong enough to pull out the feathers and become a success they cried : " See what our nursing-mother of learning has done." But if he should let the feathers remain and strut, a gaudy failure, they would exclaim : " Ah, a man of most brilliant parts."

The advancement of science has compelled the colleges to take their eyes off the past and to work toward the future. Schools and colleges must be great workshops, as well as great libraries, in which the students learn to recognize the dignity of labour. Humanity is a labourer and nothing but a labourer. Humanity came upon this earth to find it a mixture of jungle, swamp, desert and forest. Wild beasts and wild passions dominated in the air and on the ground and in the water.

Human labour, painfully struggling through the ages, is gradually replacing chaos with harmony, deserts with fertile, irrigated plains, and trackless forests with peaceful homes for thinking men. All the great work of the world is the product of labour—labour of the mind and labour of the body. Genuine happiness in this world cannot be obtained without work and responsibility.

If I were asked what is the best education, I should say knowing how to do things.

The women of India are climbing up to the plane where they belong by a sluggardly succession of steps; and if I were an artist and desired to paint the progress of India, it would be a picture of a beautiful young woman with her face turned toward the new day.

I found the Indian Government industrious in promoting female education, which is a very difficult and delicate matter owing to the system of seclusion which has always been enforced in respect of native ladies. Why the disproportion in knowledge between the two sexes in India should be so great; when the inequality in natural talents is so small, or why the understanding of women should be lavished upon trifles, when Nature has made it capable of better and higher things, I profess myself not able to

understand. If the education of women were improved, the education of men would be improved also.

"In historic times," says Sir Richard Temple, "queens and princesses have signalized themselves by patriotism, by heroism, and even by statecraft. The Empress Nur Jehan, immortalized by the poem of 'Lalla Rookh,' was not a creation of fancy, but an important historical character. The Roshanara Begum, sister of an emperor, long exercised great influence over State affairs. The noble conduct of the Princess Chund Bibi, of Ahmednagar, has been the subject of an historical romance. When the Rajputs died fighting for their country the conduct of the women was as brave as that of the men. Among the Mahrattas the women of rank were generally conspicuous in political affairs. For instance, the widowed mother of Sivaji incited her son to deeds of daring for the sake of the Hindu faith. In later days some of them were famed for charity and good works—for example, the Princess Ahalya Bai in Malway, a devout and benevolent lady. Recently in Bengal, the person foremost in good works, in the dispensation of the noblest charity, in liberal consideration towards tenantry, retainers and dependents in times of difficulty, was a woman, the Maharani Lurnomaze, who has been honoured not only by native titles, but also with a British decoration. The Muhammadan Princess of Bhopal has in time of danger proved a loyal adherent of the British cause, and in time of peace a capable ruler. Every British officer who is accredited to princely houses among the natives knows that in the palace there are native ladies who, though unseen, exert a real influence upon all negotiations, and who are the faithful upholders of the dignity and interest of the families to which they belong. In short, it is manifest that the women, though by the Hindu social code declared to be dependent and by the Muhammadans hardly acknowledged, are yet almost as influential in India as in other countries, even though they be uneducated; and this reason besides all other reasons points to the desirability of their being educated."

The ultimate end of a girl's education is to make her a good wife and mother. For the care of children Nature has made a direct and powerful provision, and the gentleness and elegance of woman are the natural consequence of that desire to please, which is productive of the greatest part of civilization and refinement, and which rests upon a foundation too deep to be shaken by any arguments. If you educate women to attend to dignified and important subjects, you are multiplying, beyond measure, the chances of human improvement, by preparing and mediating these early impressions which always come from the mother; and which, in a great majority of instances, are quite decisive of character and genius. The instruction of women improves the stock of national talents, for they will begin to educate their children before they are born. They will guide the tendrils of the little minds to climb on the trellises of morality and usefulness, which they will place within their reach before they learn to walk, and they will know that by constant care and attention children can be made to bloom and develop, and grow into wonderful specimens of humanity, just as plants and flowers are cultivated by the specialist.

Education will increase the pleasures of Indian society by multiplying the topics upon which the two sexes take a common interest, and make marriage an intercourse of understanding as well as of affection by giving dignity and importance to the female character.

The women of India are not "married." They are simply cursed into the conjugal relation; but under the gentle pressure of enlightenment the iron grip of serfdom is being relaxed. As long as woman is down India will be down, for no nation was ever elevated except through the elevation of woman.

The home is the crystal of society, the nucleus of national character; and from that source, be it pure or tainted, issue the habits, principles, and maxims which govern public as well as private life. The nation comes

from the nursery ; public opinion itself is for the most part the outgrowth of the home, and the best philanthropy comes from the fireside. . .

The women of India, who are the most graceful and best dressed in the world, do not follow the idiotic and disgusting fashions behind which some of the women of the Western countries hide their nothingness.

I do not agree with those critics who denounce the missionaries in India, for they have added very considerably to the sum of human joy. I have often read and heard stories of their indolence and luxury, but always found them industrious, and as hospitable as their slender banking accounts would permit. There is a good story told of a gentleman coming from England into one of the mission stations of India. The missionaries banded together to entertain him. Among other things they had a ham boiled, prepared, and beautifully decorated, and the same ham was passed around from house to house, as this stranger appeared, and in other respects a conspiracy of kindness was effected. The visitor went home to England and wrote and spoke of the luxury in which the missionaries of India were living. Americans and Englishmen come to these tropical regions and find a missionary living under palms and with different styles of fruit on his table, and forget that palms are here exceedingly cheap, and that rich fruit is in great abundance. They find here missionaries sleeping under punkahs, these fans swung day and night by coolies, and forget that four cents a day is good wages here, and the cooly finds himself. Four cents a day for a coachman ; a missionary can afford to ride. There have been missionaries who have tried to live as the natives live, but found it impossible. What impressed me most about the missionaries is the practical way in which they explain the laws of health, the principles of justice, the obligations of duty and the rights of our neighbours, which cannot fail to beget good results. The success which has attended female education is due principally to missionary efforts.

India owes a great deal to the missionaries, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the Salvation Army.

Famine! The word is a synonym of suffering, of horror, of heroism such as is suggested by hardly any other word. I was gladdened when I learned that it had decreased very materially under the British, who have worked unceasingly in order to relieve the oppressed and mitigate its horrors. The real cause of the distress and poverty of the cultivators in many parts of India is to be found, says Sir Edward Buck, "not in the export of their food, not in the oppression of taxes and rents, not in the administration of the country, but in the uncertainty of the one great source of agricultural wealth, the rainfall of the year."

In reading Hindu and Muhammadan histories I find that they record many famines, some of which lasted a long time and wrought terrible havoc amongst the poor people. Budain, writing in A.D. 1556, says that he witnessed with his own eyes men eating one another, and that the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that none could scarcely look upon them. What with the scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities of the Mussulmans.

In the last famine it would have been absolutely impossible for any Government to have acted more swiftly and charitably than the British, many of whose officials gave not only their health, but their lives, to the noble cause of humanity. It was owing to the well organized relief operations and the railway that the severity of the famine was mitigated. In reading Lord Curzon's farewell speech to the Byculla Club of Bombay, I was deeply touched by the passage where he says: "My eye has always rested upon a larger canvas, crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class

or section of the people. It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent. who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget, to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus for which I have assisted in the dispositioo. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, nor even in the squalor, of great cities; he reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all; he has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country; by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income; he should be the first and final object of every Viceroy's regard. It is for him, in the main, that we have reduced the salt-tax, that we remitted land revenue in two years amounting to nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling; for him that we are assessing the laod revenue at a progressivcly lower pitch, and making its collection elastic."

These noble thoughts and deeds mirror the substance of India's most brilliant Viceroy, and I feel I cannot refrain from saying that both England and India are much indebted to Lord Curzon for the great service he has rendered in exploring every department of the Indian Government with such lively interest. A bold, original thinker, thorough in all his investigations and fearless in proclaiming the results. All his speeches bear the impress of personal observation and independent inquiry. Nothing, plainly, but no common ardour, boldness and self-confidence could have sustained him under the pressure of the many difficulties which encompassed him. That sanguine temperament, that spirit of self-reliance, that fearless determination to carry out everything that be thought useful and true to its utmost limits, form the master principle of his character. He accomplished many unpleasant tasks which others feared to attempt, and earned much denunciation from

short-sighted, ill-informed croakers, who emphasized that every step he made was purely one of self-interest. If we read history carefully we shall find that nothing has ever been done in the world which has contributed largely to the advancement of civilization that did not spring from an enlightened self-interest. At the basis of every invention and of every extension of commerce has been the desire of an individual to tower above his fellows.

The Parsis deserve praise for the example which they have set by devoting their wealth to the development of their own country. Parsis like Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and Dr. E. M. Modi, the foremost of Indian scientists who has been the recipient of the highest honours from many countries, deserve every encouragement. It is a pleasing compliment to this community to know that one of its members has always welcomed the members of the Royal Family on their visits to India, and that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta will enjoy that unique privilege when the King-Emperor lands in Bombay next month.

I have read that no less than 830 crores of rupees are hoarded up by Indians, who lose the good they might reap by fearing to invest; and yet, when outside capitalists step in and take advantage of the splendid opportunities which India affords, these misers, who bury their brains with their gold, yell like jackals about the drain, in which they display a pitiable ignorance of economic science.

The great pillars which support the Government of India are the native Princes, a magnificent body of men. They are fighting against the superstitious beliefs peculiarly seductive to the minds of the peoples of India and seditious, whom they regard as the opponents not only of law and order, but of progress. The explanation of their union will be found in their knowledge of the purity of the Government's intentions, and that the future of India lies in Great Britain. They are brilliant and perplexing personalities, and bring to their thrones just the education and

gifts which they demand. The characteristics which most impressed themselves on my mind during my visit to many of the leading Princes were those of hospitality, impartiality and a vital interest in their people. They possess that proud patience which enables them to penetrate to the actual sentiments of the people over whose interests they watch so wisely and so well.

As a touching piece of music that has struck some hidden chord will ring in the ear long after the sound itself has ceased, so will the impressions of India remain pleasingly present to my mind.

## THE GATES OF INDIA.\*

By SIR T. HOLDICH.

IT was not so very long ago that public attention was much exercised by the question of Imperial defence in India. The shadow of Russia was athwart the great natural barriers of the North-West, and there were chronic outbreaks of acute nervousness as to what that shadow might portend in the world of politics.

Thanks to Japan we are now quite reposeful. Politically we exercise a gentle benignity towards Russia, and we are almost in danger of forgetting that nothing whatever has altered the actual position in the far north-west of India, excepting the gradual consolidation of Russia's military strength on the Asiatic borderland, whilst we have been enjoying a political siesta. Many of us can remember the period of agitation that occurred in the Gladstone era before the Russo-Afghan boundary was demarcated. It was then that I made the acquaintance of that most redoubtable explorer and most able advocate, Paul Lessar, who was clever enough to direct British public opinion into channels of his own choosing by making liberal use of the British Press. Long afterwards he told me that, finding British opinion day by day so largely influenced by what the British politician—amateur or professional—read in his paper in the morning at breakfast, he set himself diligently

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*. The paper was read again before the Lady Margaret Road Literary Society, Kentish Town, on November 6, 1911 (with lantern slides) by Mr. J. B. Pennington.

to work to inspire (if not actually to write) leading articles in certain journals that usually appeared early in the day, and that he always felt that he had abundant reason to congratulate himself on the success of this manœuvre. But he was at best only partially successful. He did not stave off that series of boundary demarcations that set a definite limit to the sphere of Russia's political responsibilities, and which incidentally led to that full, if not absolutely complete, examination of all important physical features of the Northern Frontier which justifies me in expressing an opinion about them.

It is no exaggeration whatever to say that thirty years ago we knew nothing whatever of the geography of that remote border region which lies to the north of Afghanistan. Vague expressions which occurred constantly in parliamentary discussions, such as that which described Herat as the "key of India," were founded on nothing like exact knowledge. It took two or three years of steady progress in geographical surveying to ascertain the probable value of Herat as a strategic centre, and during that progress the position and the value of many other gates of the North were determined, all of which lead from the highlands of Asia southwards, and each in its own degree might claim to be a "key." However, when all is said, we shall find that the expression, "key of India," as applied to Herat, was not so very much misplaced. But we are not dealing with matters strategical just now. They may well be allowed to rest. It is from the standpoint of historical geography that I will ask you to look for a short space of time at India's northern gates. It is a very lamentable fact, but in the co-partnership of history and geography actual history almost fails us. It is practically the facts of the earth's configuration—the geographical distribution of mountain and valley, and the dip and swell of altitude—which direct us to those points where partially obscure and disjointed historical record must necessarily apply. There are certain geographical lines along which historical incident must have moved in the pageant of a forgotten past. The

mists of history lift before the completed map, and although the horizon is never absolutely clear, there are inductions which may safely be drawn to form careful links in the chain of historical evidence. There is this excuse for the failure of direct history dealing with the geographical aspects of India's commerce, that commerce is so very, very old. We must revise altogether our notions of commercial intercourse between East and West, commencing with the Greek invasion some three centuries before Christ. We must get back to the times of the Assyrian Empire, and to a review of the conditions of human life in Central Asia, when the first great tides of men and women set out to find new pastures and new fields of enterprise for themselves, as their own restricted valleys grew cold and barren under one or other of those prehistoric climatic pulsations which have affected not only High Asia, but every region of the world.

Remember, that the Asiatic world of people was chiefly nomadic even in the days when cities were founded, and the arts and literature flourished. This was in a time which long preceded the age of Moses, so much so that by the time of Solomon the "making of books" was already regarded as over-done. But the cities were isolated and walled. They formed huge defensive camps at long, long intervals apart. Beyond the cities, out in the pasture-lands of plateau and valley, tribal distribution existed, much as it was in North America when the Englishman first interviewed the Red Indians, much as it is still in the land of the Kirghiz and the Kassák, amongst whom you will not find a people who will submit to be cribbed, cahined, and confined within the walls of a town even now. There is a good deal of the primitive love of movement left in the world of humanity still, and I do not suggest that the tides and currents of emigration in these early Old Testament centuries were wider, stronger, or more sweeping in their effects than they are to-day. Canada, North America and South America, Africa and Australia, would contradict such an assertion; but I do mean to suggest that this great human

tidal movement has been ever as incessant as the tides of ocean, directed only by varying conditions of transport and by geographical configuration, and either prompted by precisely the same old demand for more space for an increasing population which prompts migrations to-day, or, on the other hand, organized and carried out in the past by the will of the world's conquerors on a scale which we can hardly appreciate, and which would be impossible now. Whole nations were banded into companies, and moved bodily across, not merely the boundary of a contiguous state, but over the breadth of the continent of Asia, where many a deep-trodden track still remains that must have been watered by the tears of hundreds of thousands of toil-worn captives of Old Testament times. From the very beginning of things India was the goal of commercial ambition. Whenever the nations of the West were stirred to fresh conquest, and the greed of gold rather than of territory stirred the ancient rulers of Western or Central Asia, it was to India that they turned as the treasury of the world, and it was from India that the empires of Assyria, of Babylon and of Persia drew a great part of their revenues.

Although all these nations must have been well acquainted with the great roads running eastwards to the northern hinterland of India, and all of them in turn must have reached the actual borderland of the Indian peninsula by the gates with which we are immediately concerned, yet there is every reason to suppose that the Indus and the deserts of Sind, Rajputana and the Punjab set a definite limit to their advance. There is excellent reason for this. So long as their movements (either military or commercial) were confined to the highlands and the border tribes of India, the climate that they encountered was sufficiently like their own to demand no special preparation and to entail no special hardship. But the climate of the peninsula, even when the broad and difficult barrier of the frontier deserts were crossed, was quite new and quite detestable to the biglander or European. Alexander's army mutinied

almost at the first experience of it. Thus it is, probably, that we find no trace of Medes, Persians, Greeks, or Assyrians beyond the border highlands of North-West India, where, indeed, traces of them all exist, but never on the plains. It was the craze of the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs for the extension of public works in all countries which fell under their domination which led no doubt to the transportation of captives of war into the regions of the Asiatic highland lying between the Oxus and the Indus. The development of land by means of irrigation was the one great lesson taught and learned on the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates. The mighty network of the Babylonian canal system was repeated afar off in the plains of the Oxus, where Balkh arose contemporary with Nineveh, and whither, amidst countless hordes of other captives, the progenitors of the Ben-i-Israel of Afghanistan were drafted from Samaria and from Armenia. After all the influence of these immigrants through the northern gates of India from the highly civilized centres of Western Asia and Europe (from Assyria in the first instance, so far as we can learn, and subsequently from Persia and from Greece in times that were forgotten ere Alexander planned his expedition) their influence left no more than an impress of Western art, to be imitated later by Buddhist workmen, but hardly affected the economic or social conditions of Indian humanity.

It was a different class of visitors who came, as it were, to stay, who poured in tidal waves through the narrow straits and gateways, and, pushing the aboriginal peoples before them, became fused and amalgamated in that strange admixture of nationalities which represent the Indian people of to-day. These are the most instructive migrations to us. It is from them that we learn how masses of men may pass the great barriers of the north and settle themselves in swarms in the valleys and forests of the Indian plains. First (so far, that is, as one can trace anything) came streaming in those Dravidian races from the highlands and

swampy lowlands of Western Asia who were displaced by Semitic irruption from the coasts of Arabia. It may even have been the Phœnician emigration from the Bahrein islands to Syria that gave these Dravidian people the first hint to move on. This is supposed to be 2,500 or 3,000 years B.C., and the Phœnician shore route is supposed to indicate the earliest commercial route between East and West. Geographical evidence, however, points to still earlier times than these. There could have been no delta of the Indus as we now know it in the days when these Stone Age pilgrims could pass from Makran along the western coast of India and leave their strange rude monuments behind them as they moved; and this is undoubtedly the route they followed in their quest for a final home in Central and Southern India. There were other rivers flowing out then westwards to the sea, and much of the waste of modern desert must have been fairly profitable land. Their primeval gateway—the gateway of the extreme West—is almost as important now that the deserts are bridged by the railway as in those prehistoric days.

Afterwards, at long intervals and by other ways, came those countless tides of Aryan or Skythic immigration passing as a slender stream through the narrow ways of the hills, but spreading like a lake out into the Indian plains; displacing a people who, whilst they have figured in Hindu records as demons of the woods and forests, were probably a civilized race. So many and so countless were these irruptions that we might regard them as periodic; but no people, so far as we know, were ever driven back northward through those gates, no return tides of emigration from the Indian plains to High Asia ever took place, although from time to time peoples displaced by conquest were forced farther and farther into the border hills where their descendants are to be found to this day. All these Skythic irruptions passed into India by a certain group of mountain tracks far removed from those of the extreme west which

centre in Makrân. They may be called the Afghan group. By the Makrân gates and by the Afghan gates equally has India been invaded, and her destinies and dynasties frequently changed. By these gates, too, has her commerce been extended through Asia to Europe ; so it is with them still that we are principally concerned, and it is to these two groups that your attention will be chiefly directed, not as a matter of strategic or military interest, but because once again history may repeat itself and commerce flow back into the old, old channels. We must not, however, dismiss the whole of the rest of the Himalayan barrier from the easternmost extension of Afghanistan to the deep valley of the Brahmaputra and beyond, as of absolute insignificance so far as approach to India is concerned. It is true that the enormous uplift of the Pamirs and of Tibet, with the rugged line of snow-capped sentinels presented by the Himalayas, form together a barrier across which no ingenuity of man can at present fashion a practicable highway. We have nothing to fear from an enemy who might be unwise enough to select such a line of advance on India, nor could the wildest imagination of the most crazy engineer suggest a commercial railway across it. Nevertheless, there are ways even over the savage Tibetan highlands, through Nipal, or by way of Darjiling on the east (*e.g.*, the Chumbi Valley), which have been constantly, and are still constantly, used for trade ; and it is an established fact that India has actually been conquered from Tibet by a Tibetan army placed in the field in Chinese interests. This was in the palmy days of King Srong-tsang-gumpo—the greatest King of Tibet—who in the seventh century, A.D., was powerful enough to force a matrimonial alliance with the family of the Chinese Emperor (whereby, incidentally, Tibet acquired Buddhism), and who organized an invasion of India as the fitting repartee to an insult offered to a Chinese envoy. It was most surprisingly successful, but it cannot be accepted as an historical episode which is likely to be repeated.

But whilst passing on to a consideration of the chief land-gates of India, we must not ignore these other byways through which quite a considerable local traffic is perpetually passing. Beyond Almorah, and beyond Simla, they wind round shelving Himalayan spurs overlooking the depths of misty valleys from which little cloudlets creep upwards in the early morning. They plunge down into gloomy forests of gigantic pines, where here and there the rhododendron-tree hangs out its scarlet bloom; they climb to the glacier-slides and cliffs of the storm-scarred ridges of the Central Himalayas, passing through the iron gates of granite, with swirling waters below and grey clouds bulging thick with snow above. Finally they emerge on to the waste stone-scattered, frost-bitten steppes of the great plateau land, and lead away into what might be the very most outer limits of desolation, but which is a wholesome and vigorous upland all the same, giving life and freedom to a wholesome and vigorous race of mankind.

There is just one road passing from Kashmir to the productive regions of Chinese Turkestan which is more or less typical of these high level tracks, which has for all time been a recognized route connecting India with High Asia. It is just a deep-trodden thread of a road winding through a stone-strewn wilderness, where the whitened bones of innumerable victims to its long fatigue and starvation stages are piled at intervals to mark the way. "It is perhaps the ugliest track to call a trade route in the whole wide world. Not a tree, not a shrub exists, not even the cold dead beauty of Nature's snow-shroud, for there is no great snowfall at the back of the Himalayas. It is marked, too, by many a sordid tragedy of robbery and murder; but it is, nevertheless, one of the northern gates of India which we have spent much to preserve, and it does actually serve an important purpose in the commercial economy of India." This is the Karakoram route. And there are many others criss-crossing these uplifted plains and hills. The extraordinary spread of the ancient gold-

mines of Tibet—all superficial, mere scratchings of the surface—over the western plateau testify to an industry which, for far more centuries than we can count, enriched both East and West. Persia and China have both grown rich with Tibetan gold in their time. China still gets it and it passes from Western Tibet to Eastern China by a very much frequented route, which was incredibly ancient before the Romans taught the world the benefit of public works. Whilst we stand amazed at man's energy and endurance in the long past when dealing with the hard conditions of life in these gigantic altitudes, we must not forget that the physical conditions of the material world has been constantly on the change. We are a little too apt to relegate extraordinary vicissitudes of climate and physiography to what may be termed geologic eras, whereas many of them are modern and recent enough to have touched history, and must have profoundly influenced man's destiny in comparatively recent times.

The sand encroachment, which is but the result of the process of desiccation (itself a constant phenomenon all over the world) and which wiped out the civilization of the Turkestan, or Gobi, depression in the early centuries of our era, is only a case in point, one only of many climatic vicissitudes which have altered the whole physical condition of Central Asia, turning it from its high destiny as cradle of the human race, and subsequent centre of human civilization, into a sort of patchwork of oasis and desert, where explorers can now hunt for the relics of its departed glories. Much more remotely, those very early tectonic movements which gripped the pliable crust of the earth and crumpled it into gigantic folds of ridge and furrow, making of the Himalayas a gridiron system of barriers between the high-level tablelands and the flat Indian plains, are still easily recognizable; even though here and there the granite backbone of the barriers has been worn down, and intervals filled up with a fine confusion (apparent confusion) of minor spurs and ridges. It is this general forma-

tion, prevailing as it does through the entire Himalayas, and beyond them to the Hindu Kush and Northern Persia, that generally turns the frontier gates into an interminable series of difficult passes or narrow doorways. There are, indeed, a few natural staircases, formed by great rivers, which break down through these barriers, one by one, as they seek the lower altitude of the plains, but not one of these rivers, (unless we are to find an exception in the Brahmaputra,) affords the possibility of a practicable route from India to High Asia devoid of the necessity of interminable mountain climbing to avoid impracticable gaps and gorges. It is not, however, in that eastern part of the great barrier which Nature has set to India, where the Himalayas are backed by the impossible altitude of Tibet, that we need look with any apprehension of further irruption into India, and the interest of it lies rather in our power to ascend those mountain staircases than in any speculation as to the descent of undesirable visitors.

Just a word or two about the Brahmaputra gate. Our difficulties at present lie with those unruly and hopeless savages who occupy the hills to the east of Bhutan, and who have hitherto presented an impregnable barrier both to the passing of Tibetans southward from the populated valleys of the upper Brahmaputra basin, and of British subjects from the valley of the lower Brahmaputra—i.e., from Upper Assam—northwards to Tibet. Through the country of these Tibeto-Burmese tribes (the Mishmis and the Abors) runs the great Brahmaputra in a series of rapids and falls alternating with long placid reaches hemmed in by the gigantic buttresses of the eastern Himalayas, and bordered here and there by open spaces where it receives affluents from east and west, which are by no means devoid of opportunity for cultivation. We have heard a good deal about this great Brahmaputra bend from our native explorers, who have traced the river through all but about thirty miles of its course, but who have never succeeded in getting right through either one way or the other. The Abors them-

selves come down to the Assamese border, and there has always been a certain amount of local trade which has brought them into direct contact with our frontier people, and which, one would think, should be sufficient to ensure their good behaviour. Upper Assam, however, is far removed from the great centres of commercial activity in India, and they have seen nothing so far which could impress them with our ability to apply the "big stick" when necessary; whilst, on the other hand, they are all conveniently assured that the big stick was applied to our own backs in Tibet. In other words, they think we were driven out of that country. Hence their determination that we shall never lift the veil that hides their jungle-covered fastnesses. That veil will be lifted now by General Bower, who commands the Abor Expedition. He was the first European explorer to cross Tibet from Kashmir to China—the first to bring to light the remarkable written records of Chinese Turkestan; the man who hunted the murderer of Dalgleish right through Asia, and brought him to judgment in a Russian bazaar. To bring the Abors to judgment is a difficult enterprise—but we need not fear that it will not be done, and done well. May that most excellent geographer and distinguished soldier be the first European to give the world a distinct account of this Brahmaputra gate of India! May he be the first to stand as witness of the gigantic falls of Sindong, where the mists sweep ever upward from the depths of a boiling cauldron of driven waters, and the rainbows play about from cliff to cliff! There is one thing, however, that he will not find. He will find no royal highway traced up that mysterious valley. He will come back to tell us that the Brahmaputra gate offers no exception to the general impracticable nature of all these natural openings in the hills of the far North-East.

And now let us turn to the Afghan gates, those gates which are the historic highways of the North-West and which centre on Kabul. It is by the passes of the Hindu Kush that all the most important inroads into India have

been effected, for it is by means of these passes that Central Asian hordes have from the earliest times been able to sweep away dynasties and kingdoms, changing the destinies of vast populations and destroying the works of centuries of civilization in their irresistible advance. Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Skyth, and Moghul have all made use of them. They are all of them high in altitude, rugged and difficult; but their geographical position, which has rendered them so important in directing the course of the world's history in the past, still places them in the forefront of practical consideration when we reckon up the strength of our hold upon India. They are in the country of that warlike race of people who call themselves Ben-i-Israel, claiming a vague descent from the scattered tribes of Samaria, but whom we call Durani Afghans, the ruling tribe of the Afghan community, at whose head is the reigning Amir. Between a point marked by the head of that affluent of the Kabul River which we know as the Panjshir, and the Bamian Pass to the west of Kabul, they occur at frequent intervals connecting the Kabul plain with the open valleys and flats of Afghan-Turkestan. Local trade between Kabul and Bokhara, or Badakshan, has always kept these passes open, it being more a matter of season and climate than affects their value as caravan routes than any special advantage in the physical nature of the passes themselves.

The Khawák Pass at the head of the Panjsbir is the most easterly of the group, and it has perhaps seen the passage of more armies of men, more crowds of unruly Asiatic savages bent on plunder and destruction, than any of the others. Geographically, it represents the first gateway—the nearest and distinctly the most accessible and the easiest—that could be selected by any large body of people moving southwards from the Oxus... The key of it is in Badakshan—the ancient Bactria—and the occupation of Baktria has invariably preceded the passage of the Khawák to Kabul. An immense volume of ancient history lies

hidden in the folds of the Baktrian hills, and especially under the stones of Balkh. Strata upon strata, the buried cities of the past lie deep under the mounds and hillocks of the Oxus plains, and never can the leaves of that ancient volume be turned to the daylight till the Amir permits another Layard or another Stein to dig about and lift them to the surface. Then, indeed, shall we know something of the change of dynasties and the partition of kingdoms in that once stirring corner of Asia, and how it came about that from time to time changes in the fashion of the route adopted from the Oxus to Kabul were effected. Certain it is that the Greeks under Alexander passed over the Hindu Kush by somewhat higher and narrower ways to the west of the Khawák—gateways which had the advantage of landing them more directly on the open plains than is possible by the restricted valley of the Panjshir. It may be noted that the occupants of the Panjshir Valley enjoyed the reputation of being the most barbarous savages in Asia both before and after Alexander's time.

One of the points to which sufficient attention has hardly been given by historians of Alexander's invasion—or expedition—is the probable existence of early Greek (pre-Hellenic) settlements on the Baktrian side of the Hindu Kush on the upper valleys of Andarab. These early occupants of Grecian origin were early enough to be a forgotten people in Alexander's time. He found them in the hills to the north of Pesbawar under the name of Nyseans; we find such remnants of them as time and degeneration have left in the hills of Kafiristan; but the very fact of their tenacity of occupation seems to me to argue much for a prehistoric connection between west to east, and to explain much of the exact geographical knowledge that the Greeks possessed of all that lay between Western Persia and the Indian border. Certain it is that Alexander possessed a military base in Andarab, between which place and Greece there was a line of open communication, and that he utilized the passes which led most directly from Andarab

to the Kabul plain via Charikar. Between this group of passes to the north-east of Kabul and the well-known Bamian Pass, so often traversed and described by British soldiers and travellers, which leads more directly to the Turkestan plain, there are several of greater and less importance, all of which are perhaps of more military than commercial significance. Nevertheless, caravans pass and repass by most of them, and during the twenty-five years which have elapsed since we examined them, it is difficult to say to what extent they may have been developed under an Amir who is notoriously keen on extending public works and good lines of communication. To us, as we sit at home and speculate on an improbable invasion of India, the question may occur, "What is their real significance now as gates of India?" And, seeing that they all lead to Kabul, "Why regard them as gates of India at all?"

It is quite true that between these passes and the plains of India there is yet many a sturdy gate to open, many a difficult pass; and the intervening barrier of Afghan territory offers many a difficult problem for military solution. But we must remember that no hostile invader from beyond the Hindu Kush ever came to Kabul to stop there. Kabul was not Alexander's objective (if it existed in his time, which I doubt) any more than it was the objective of the Turk Babar. It was merely a wayside resting-place—a jumping off point for India. Moreover, historically Kabul was "India." The "Indian City of Kabul" it is called in mediæval Arab geography, and the basin of the Kabul River was always regarded as a geographical and indivisible part of the basin of the Indus. About that inner line of natural defensive ramparts which Nature has set to the north-west of India, extending from the Khaibar to near Karachi, which we have strengthened artificially, I have nothing to say now. They are, of course, of immense importance. Their strength and their weakness is the fundamental concern of Indian military administration; but, important as they are, they are not the outer nor the

main gates of our great Indian estate. It cannot be too often or too forcibly insisted that, should any alien force, European or Asiatic, once establish itself in Afghan territory, it will be practically within our gates. We may shut the inside doors, and bar the passages, and make things unpleasant for the burglar; but he has passed the front-door and is inside the house. Then may arise (and surely will arise) all the mischief that is inherent in a house divided against itself. We know what the end may be. As to the real significance of those Hindu Kush gates, I may repeat what I have said before—i.e., that it is their great altitude, rather than the physical difficulties of approach, which places them practically outside the pale of strategic consideration. No leader of men in his senses would in these days utilize them for any but secondary, or accessory, purposes. They would be impassable for the greater part of the year.

When, however, as we count up the entrances through that long extended wall which forms the continental divide of Asia, we reach Herat, we find quite another condition of physical structure to consider, forming a geographical and political problem of the highest importance. I feel, however, that I need hardly enlarge on this well-worn subject. The great natural break in the northern mountain-barrier which is the primary geographical feature near Herat opens out a way southwards from the Asiatic highlands such as exists nowhere else. There are no vast altitudes to encounter here. Nothing but a comparatively low and much degraded line of hills, hardly amounting to the dignity of a range, obstructing the line (500 miles or so in length) which stretches between the Russian outposts on the Kushtk and our own outposts in advance of Quetta. This has always been the gate which has required our special watchfulness; and it is the existence of it which lends such importance to our occupation of Baluchistan. It is far more important in the present than it was in the past. Probably it has not seen one tithe of the overflow towards India from the Central Asian highlands which have been

witnessed by the Hindu Kush passes. In the first place, geographically; it is not the nearest way, neither does it lead anywhere but to the great barrier of the Indus and the deserts which flank the Indus Valley. These were, in early days, the absolute limits of foreign irruption into India. It is we who have changed the geographical conditions of this historical line of India's defensive frontier by bridging the desert with railways and bringing it into direct communication with the great peninsula. If ever the ancient invader found his way beyond the Indus to the east and south, it was by northern routes through the Punjab plains. It is the existence of a great railway system in India, and of another great system in Central Asia, which now pushes Herat into the front rank of cities of strategical importance to Britain. Who can doubt that the day will come when a double line of much used railway will connect these two systems, and that Herat will grow rich on an enormous passenger traffic between India and Europe. No strategic, no military consideration, will stop it eventually, nor will any political horror of dealing with Afghanistan and Persia. It is bound to come.

Although Herat was probably never an important geographical feature in any great scheme of Asiatic tribal movement towards India, there were yet other ways—the oldest ways of all—to which we can point, by means of which the Indian peninsula became peopled, and which may even yet rise again to significance in the commercial economy of the East as they have done in the past. These are the gates of Makrân to which I have already referred, and with these our subject closes. I have purposely left alone all consideration of the water-gates, or seaports, of India. There was always a commerce by sea—a commerce so old that we cannot get back to the beginnings of it—but the earliest efforts at navigation were undoubtedly confined to a coasting process, where the navigators were guided almost entirely by landmarks, and the rude craft of antiquity crawled slowly from point to point, dependent on weather influences, and no

one was in a hurry. From the Straits to Ceylon, from Ceylon up the Malabar coast to the head of the Arabian Sea, and then within sight of the rugged hills and forbidding bluffs of Makrân, merchandise of the East found its way to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, probably changing from ship to ship more than once in the course of the tedious voyage. Makrân was then a far more attractive and well-watered country than it is now, although there were spaces of desert and desiccation sufficient to prove fatal to such an expedition as that of Alexander the Great, when 300 years B.C. he attempted to lead an army through its narrow valleys to Persia by a route which should enable him to keep touch with his ships.

A thousand years (possibly many more than a thousand years) before Alexander's time this was the way for Dravidian hordes to retreat, as they were gradually displaced by Semitic irruption into their lands, and by which they trekked slowly into India and passed by the western coast to the highlands of the interior. They can be roughly traced by the stone implements and rude monuments which they left behind them as they moved. A thousand years after Alexander's time we again find a great race movement taking place along those narrow lateral valleys. This was in the palmy days of Arah ascendancy. Then, indeed, did the ports of Makrân assume much significance and great cities arose. When, finally, the Arahs conquered the Indus Valley and carried their dominion northward to the borders of Kashmir, they effected their purpose by a joint naval and military advance, and the story of that successful expedition forms one of the most thrilling episodes of Indian history. All the commerce between East and West was then in Arab hands, and, although they by no means neglected the sea traffic, by far the greater part of that commerce was overland.

Fortunately for us, these explorers and geographers were men who often possessed a clear idea of the points of the compass and considerable powers of recording the results of their observations, and so we have been able to trace

their many caravan routes in the course of our surveys. From the Tigris to the Oxus and from the Oxus plains to the Indus Valley we can find their well-worn tracks ; but we do not find them either in Central or in Southern India. For centuries many of the great arteries of trade to India ran through this country of Makrân (the actual Indian gateway being the coast district north-west of Karachi) connecting Baghdad and the highlands of Southern Persia with the Arab city of Multan and Lahore. Taking it altogether, this must still be reckoned as one of the most important highways that a better and closer acquaintance with the geography of Asia has revealed to us.

Between Baghdad and Ispahan there is a somewhat intricate problem of mountain-range and narrow constricted transverse valleys to be dealt with ; but from Ispahan (which I always regard as an obligatory point on the route, and where will yet stand in the course of the world's development a railway junction to Tehrân) to Karachi via Makrân there is not a really formidable obstacle to the construction of a railway ; there is not an altitude of any significance ; and there is, moreover, for the greater part of the year a delightful climate and generally a fair water-supply. There are, however, certain desert intervals, but these would prove no great trouble to the railway engineers of the Sudan, of Rajputana and of Sind. As the successors of the Arabs, we dominate the Arabian Sea, and so long as we do so we also hold the Makrân routes to India at our disposal.

Here we stand at the beginning of the twentieth century. We have already seen a decade of it pass into the realms of history. Before the end of it, those who live will see a mighty railway traffic between West and East through Persia and Afghanistan to India and onwards to China. If the British Empire holds together so long those lines will be British, run by British officials. If the British Empire breaks up (which God forbid !) our future travellers will have to talk German on the Makrân line and Russian on the line through Herat.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR INDIA IN THE LIGHT OF WESTERN EXPERIENCE.\*

BY SIR ROLAND K. WILSON, BART.

NEARLY nine years ago—namely, in February, 1902, I had the honour of reading a paper before the East India Association, of which the Chairman said that it had provoked one of the best discussions they had ever had in that room, but which had not the good fortune to obtain his support, nor that of any other speaker, for its main thesis. The title of the paper was "Is State-Aided Education in any Shape Suitable to the Present Circumstances of India?" and the question was answered in the negative.

At that period, as now, the intervention of the Indian Government in education took two forms only, viz.:

1. Colleges and schools managed directly by the Government, and financed partly with public money and partly from the fees of the students, the instruction being purely secular, and neither "free" nor compulsory.
2. Grants in aid to privately managed institutions drawing the rest of their income from students' fees, from voluntary contributions, and from endowments. Here the curriculum would usually include religious instruction in conformity with the creed of the

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

proprietors and supporters, but the amount of the Government grant would depend on the report of the Government Inspector with respect to the secular part of the instruction and the general management.

That paper of mine had been preceded and suggested by two others, raising the religious difficulty in a somewhat acute form; and I based my plea for the Government withdrawing altogether from the educational field partly on the growing pressure of this difficulty, partly on a corresponding political difficulty of which I thought I saw some premonitory signs, but very largely on the financial difficulty, which was bound, as I endeavoured to show, to reach most appalling proportions, if ever the task, at which the Government was then feebly nibbling, was to be done well enough to make it worth doing at all.

The view which I then put forward was so evidently unacceptable to all sections of articulate Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion, that I never expected to be invited to re-open the question; nor, indeed, have I been asked to re-open precisely the same question. The introduction of Mr. Gokhale's Bill does undoubtedly mark, to some extent, a new departure; and it is not altogether surprising that some members of Council, who were then, and are still, strong believers in the general duty of the State to take some steps for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the masses, as proclaimed by the Despatch of 1854 and the Commission of 1882, should be somewhat startled by the proposal to employ for this purpose the method of compulsory school attendance. At the date of our previous discussion the views of Indian educationists did not generally go beyond a gradual extension of the grant-in-aid system; and I can easily understand their unwillingness to be convinced of the insufficiency of this method, and of the impossibility of stopping at this point unless you are prepared to go back. Now, I may as well confess at once that I have myself long ago reached this conviction; consequently, I

am hardly the sort of lecturer who should have been put forward if the object was to expatiate on the extreme gravity of the transition from a system of merely State-aided and State-inspected elementary education to one which is directly State-provided, compulsory, and gratuitous. I have no doubt, however, but that full justice will be done by subsequent speakers to that line of argument; and I may, perhaps, be of some use as opener of the discussion if, without going over again the ground traversed in my previous paper, without repeating the *a priori* arguments against State education in any country, and more especially in such a country as India, I present you with a résumé of practically undisputed facts bearing on the one argument which has overshadowed all others in the oratory of Mr. Gokhale and his supporters—"Why does India lag behind other civilized nations?" Mr. Gokhale himself does not go quite so far as an Indian correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who assures us that "all other civilized nations have accepted the panacea"—a primer and a cane being apparently regarded by this enthusiast as the one infallible cure for all the evils that can afflict humanity. But they are all alike in implying as their major premiss—"Whatever all civilized nations do must be right," the minor premiss being, of course, "all civilized nations have adopted compulsory education." This minor premiss, by the way, though true, perhaps, as far as it goes, is not the whole truth. Did time permit the digression, I might have something to say concerning one or two uncivilized nations that long ago tried the "panacea," and made such a mess of it that their social progress was seriously retarded thereby instead of being advanced. But what of the major premiss? Is that supported by history?

How long is it since all the leading Western nations competed eagerly for the profits of the African slave trade? Rather less than a century.

Go back another century and a half, or less, keeping well within what historians would agree to call civilized times, and you will find all the nations of Europe, without excep-

tion, treating dissent from the religion of the State as one of the gravest of crimes ; while you will find nearly all, not only continuing this practice down to a much more recent date, but also habitually employing torture as the normal method of extracting evidence from unwilling witnesses.

I wonder whether there is a single individual in such an assemblage as this of presumably thoughtful persons, who is not a rebel at heart on some point or other against the consensus of civilized nations.

Thus the mere fact that one of the legislative fashions just now in vogue is this of compulsory and gratuitous education is very insufficient proof of its being a good fashion, even for those who are now practising it, still less that it is suitable for transplantation to countries where the conditions are different. Mr. Gokhale, it is true, lays stress on the system having been adopted by the United States Government in the Philippines, by our own Government in the Crown Colony of Ceylon, and in India itself by the feudatory ruler of Baroda ; but all these experiments are much too recent to be quoted as proved successes. It will, at all events, be time enough to consider them when we have satisfied ourselves concerning the results of the more prolonged experiments in our own and other advanced communities. I propose, therefore, to consider first of all how the case stands with that part of the United Kingdom in which we are now meeting, where primary education has been fully compulsory since 1880, partially so since 1870 ; generally "free" (*i.e.* gratuitous) since 1891, and more or less State-aided since 1832. I shall confine myself as far as possible to facts bearing on the two questions :

1. By what stages, and under what influences, was the present system arrived at ? And,
2. How far can it be considered a success ?

As regards the first question, I must beg you to note first of all that the order of development is the reverse of that in India, where for political reasons State intervention

hegan at the top. The attention of the British Government in India was first directed, and for a long time practically confined, to supplying, not gratuitously, still less compulsorily, but at a charge much below cost price, and with a further inducement of exclusive eligibility to the better paid posts under Government, instruction in various branches of *secular* western learning. In England at the beginning of the last century the well-to-do classes were neither offered, nor thought of asking for, State aid in the education of their own children; each parent either paid the full cost of such schooling as he deemed suitable for his own children, or availed himself of old endowments, generally limited by the directions of the founder to a kind of instruction which would be quite useless to the poor, and of rather doubtful utility to boys of any class. The dense ignorance of the masses was the matter that troubled the minds of a small enlightened minority, and these had been long making small private efforts to diminish it before Parliament was asked to intervene. The point which is not so generally understood as it ought to be is that these early voluntary educationists were hampered at every turn by obstacles for which Parliament was itself responsible, both by what it had done and by what it had neglected to do. The whole ground on which they had to operate was encumbered with the *débris* of a decaying State-aided system of free and compulsory education, in which the parochial clergy were supposed to be the schoolmasters, and the Bishops the school inspectors. It was the law that every child must be baptised, and must thereafter be instructed by the parson of the parish in the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as expounded in the Church Catechism. This had been, according to sixteenth-century notions, the irreducible minimum of necessary elementary education, to which it was the vaguely-understood, uncovenanted duty of the clergyman to add as much instruction, suitable to each young person's station in life, as he had leisure to impart, and they to receive. This

compulsory education was not supposed to cease with childhood. Every adult parishioner was required by law to present himself in church on Sundays and Holy Days, where he would hear the Bible read, chapter by chapter, and expounded in a sermon. Thus Elizabethan legislators considered that they had made ample provision for universal education in the one thing needful, while the system of apprenticeship seemed to them to supply the only sort of secular training that a working man ought to require.

This State-Church educational system was, as I have said, in 1800 decayed and hopelessly out of date; but the clerical monopoly of education was still so nearly complete as to constitute a case of "dog-in-the-manger" as against every philanthropic enterprize started by others than Anglican clergymen or laymen enjoying their confidence. Protestant Trinitarian Dissenters were the only outsiders who were allowed to open schools or maintain seminaries where teachers could be trained, and even these were totally excluded from the only then existing national Universities.

A no less formidable obstacle was the neglect of Parliament to impose any restraint on premature and excessive child labour. It was useless to open a week-day school for children who were employed from six years old and upwards twelve or fourteen hours a day in mines and factories; consequently the Sunday-school was in many places the only voluntary institution that had the ghost of a chance, and Sunday-school teaching meant for the most part teaching by untrained amateurs. It was not compulsory school attendance that was required, but protection of the children against an improper form of parental compulsion. Most parents would have been glad enough to send their children to school if the only permitted alternative had been keeping them in idleness at home.

In this state of things some form of State intervention was clearly required, either to liberate voluntary enterprise from the shackles which the State itself had imposed, or

else to remodel and revivify its own obsolete and neglected machinery. But the balance of forces was such in the unreformed Parliament of the first thirty years of the century that it could not be induced to move in either direction. The dissenting, Roman Catholic, and free-thinking interests were just strong enough to prevent the Established Church from being entrusted with more public money and new powers, but not nearly strong enough to dislodge it from its privileged position. They did, however, gain some further relief from their own disabilities, and grew in numbers and vigour.

It was in the year 1832, when the first great Parliamentary Reform Act had been passed but had not yet come into force, that the moribund, unreformed, but reforming House of Commons took in a timid and rather absent-minded manner the first step towards State, as distinguished from State-Church, education, by voting £20,000 for "public education," leaving the manner of expending it to the executive. By that time the educational progress which had been made, in spite of the obstacles above mentioned, by the various dissenting bodies on the one hand, and on the other hand by churchmen through a voluntary association called the National Society, was actually very considerable, though small relatively to the enormous heritage of past neglect, and the keen rivalry between these two parties seemed to promise a continuous acceleration of the pace. The way in which the parliamentary grant was used was quite honestly intended not to repress but to stimulate this healthy emulation in voluntary effort; the money being at first doled out, for school-building only, in proportion to the sums raised locally by the recipient societies, and afterwards in proportion to the results achieved according to the report of the Government inspector; and in the early days of the experiment, while the Government grants were small, it did seem as though this hope were being realized. But in the long run the trite observation was once more verified that

voluntary and State agencies cannot work permanently side by side without one killing the other.

Wrangling very soon began as to the distribution of the grant ; as soon, in fact, as it became large enough to be worth quarrelling about. However fair in intention the new Education Department might be, its principle of grants proportioned to local effort, whether that effort were measured by money subscribed or by examinable results, could not help increasing the advantage already possessed by the stronger of one or more competitors over the others. The State Church being enormously the stronger to begin with, in numbers, wealth, and influence, naturally, and without any intentional favouritism, obtained a proportionately larger share of public moncy ; whereupon the Dissenters, no less naturally, complained of their taxes going to aggravate the strain of a struggle for existence which was hard enough already. If this had been all, the Government might have pleaded with some show of reason that sectarian grievances must not be allowed to stand in the way of a great national good ; but it also began to be observed, and was fully established by the Newcastle Commission of 1858, that the same injustice was being done to the poorer as compared with the wealthier districts all over England, or, what amounted to the same thing, to the districts where educational zeal abounded as compared with those in which it was deficient. If the State was to interfere at all, it could not possibly be right that the localities which most needed its help should be the most neglected. Yet on what juster principle could a system of grants-in-aid be worked ? It would never do to discourage voluntary effort by giving most public money to those who were doing least for themselves, unless it was deliberately intended that the State should ultimately shoulder the whole burden.

Thus it was that the nation was brought, sorely against its will, to the second parting of the ways. But for the second time John Bull characteristically refused to commit

himself to either of the paths which would have led direct to a definite goal, but shuffled along in an awkward zigzag between them.

As early as 1846 it had become manifest to the few lucid thinkers among those who were giving their minds to the subject that, as the revival of compulsory religious instruction was out of the question, a choice ought to be made once for all between two plain courses: the one being to clear a fair field for Voluntaryism, which would involve, among other things, the disestablishment of the State Church and the repeal of all remaining restrictions on free teaching; the other being to establish a universal system of State-provided and compulsory *secular* instruction—meaning by that term instruction in those subjects only about which there were no very deep or passionate divisions of opinion. The former view was splendidly championed by Mr. Edward Baines of Leeds in ten open letters to Lord John Russell; the other by Dr. Hook, also of Leeds, a High Church clergyman, in a pamphlet on "The Means of Making More Effectual the Education of the People." The former view was also maintained as late as 1861 in a very lucid Minority Report by two out of the seven members of the Newcastle Commission—namely, Mr. Edward Miall, founder of the Liberation Society, and Professor Goldwin Smith. The latter was advocated by the Birmingham Education League, founded in 1869. But the main body of the electorate, both before and after the Reform Bill of 1867, remained halting between the two, and the memorable Act of 1870 reflected this state of mind. The mere "give to him that hath" policy, after nearly forty years trial, and after a very complete exposure of its defects, was at last admitted to be inadequate; but instead of being abandoned, it was supplemented by rate-supported Board schools, where sufficient school accommodation was not provided by State-aided voluntary efforts. "Sufficient school accommodation" meant "sufficient for all the children of school age, not merely for all whose parents might choose to send

them," and it was at first left optional with the new Local Boards to enforce attendance or not. And as with compulsion, so with the irrepressible religious difficulty; Parliament endeavoured at first to shuffle off the gravest part of its responsibility on to the local ratepayers, leaving it to them to decide whether any religious instruction at all should be given in the Board Schools, but ultimately imposing the restriction that no formula distinctive of the National Church, or of any other sect, should be used.

It took the general public more than thirty years to realize—what was, nevertheless, the fact—that by this enactment the so-called voluntary schools, which it was the object of the grant-in-aid system to foster, had practically received their death-blow. That system itself had, in the course of forty years, gravely altered the character of these schools—for the better in some respects, for the worse in some other, and perhaps more important, respects. The school managers, who had begun by depending on a body of sympathetic subscribers and fellow-workers, drawn together by community of beliefs and ideals, and content to wait for their harvest in the after-careers of their scholars, had come to depend more and more on making a good show before the Government inspector, and the same motive could not fail to operate still more strongly on the teachers, and to a considerable extent on the subscribers. With the main body of Protestant Dissenters this ambition to maintain day-schools of their own with a distinctive moral and religious atmosphere had been so much damped by their experiences of unequal competition with the Anglicans, that they now threw their whole weight on the side of direct public management, worked for the establishment of a rate-supported school in every district, and grudged every penny of public money paid to managers of voluntary schools (now for the most part either Anglican or Roman Catholic) as a diversion of their own money to the support of a rival creed. At the same time they rejected as a body the secularist part of the Birmingham programme,

and combined with a large body of laymen who were State educationists first and Churchmen afterwards, to maintain in the rate-supported schools a form of so-called "simple Biblical teaching."

The parts were now reversed, and the situation was paradoxical in the extreme. Instead of one State Church, we had now practically two. Those adherents of the old State Church, including most of the clergy and possibly half the laity, who set a high value on a distinctively Anglican atmosphere in the day school, found themselves relegated, so far as the national school system was concerned, to the position of a tolerated Nonconformist sect, contending side by side with Roman Catholics, Jews, and some others, for the minimum of State interference compatible with the receipt of a State subsidy. Victorious in the game of grant-catching as played between 1832 and 1870, they had some hope, and their opponents greatly feared, that they might win also under the new rules, by dint of keeping their own schools up to the grant-earning standard of efficiency, and working on the fears of the rate-payers as against the unnecessary creation of School Boards. But the logic of the situation was against them. It was difficult to put the appeal for subscriptions in a form calculated to excite much religious enthusiasm (grant-earning being confessedly the first thing to be worked for), while the growing civic enthusiasm of the new democracy pressed constantly for higher and higher standards of school accommodation and of teaching. The working class voter who did not personally pay rates, who was compelled to send his children to some school and paid nothing for their schooling in any case, was not likely to vote on the side of parsimony, or to patronise the less well-equipped of two accessible schools, unless his doctrinal preferences were exceptionally strong.

Thus it was that in 1902 the Church party declared the strain of the unequal competition to be intolerable, and made the best terms they could while their political friends

were in power. The effect of the Act then passed was that the schools hitherto distinguished as "voluntary" ceased altogether to depend on voluntary subscriptions except for repairs of the school-house; they now share in the rates as well as in parliamentary grants, and their managers are, in most respects, subject like those of other schools to the local education authority which represents the ratepayers. But they differ from the "provided" schools in that (1) only a minority of the managers is appointed by the education authority, and that (2) the religious instruction is to be denominational in accordance with the trust deed.

This Act of 1902 remains practically the last word of Parliament on the religious difficulty as it presents itself in England. You all know how miserably it has failed to bring peace in the educational world. You all know the story of the Nonconformist "passive resisters," who conscientiously objected to pay a rate of which any portion was to be spent otherwise than under full public control; and you may have also heard mutterings of threatened passive resistance on the other side, in the event of the law being altered in the manner desired by the first set of passive resisters. You remember doubtless the abortive attempts made by two successive Ministers of Education to appease the Nonconformist conscience without outraging the conscience of somebody else; and possibly also a certain unedifying conflict between the Courts of law and the Education Department;\* unless the memory of all these incidents has been effaced by the still more exciting politics of the last two years. But the mention of these troubles reminds me that the most important part of my task, though not, I hope, the heaviest tax on your patience, still lies before me.

I have done my best to compress into half an hour something like an intelligible answer to the first question—

\* At the time of writing the fourth Liberal Minister in five years is just about to try his hand at the problem that has baffled his predecessors.

namely, the how and the why of the adoption in England, *for the second time*, of a system of elementary education, entirely State-provided, and universally compulsory. I have tried to show how the first experiment, based on the assumption that elementary education ought to mean instruction in the elements of dogmatic religion as defined by the State, had been responsible for a century of bloody conflict and persecution, followed by a century of lassitude and stagnation, in which the State Church, dreading above all things, like a burnt child, the fire of "enthusiasm," did very little itself for either religious or secular education, and was practically successful in preventing anybody else from doing more; how the second experiment, forced upon the State by its own neglect to secure a fair field for voluntary efforts, was embarrassed from first to last by the existence and claims of the old State Church, which Parliament could neither ignore nor remodel and use as its instrument; how it has passed through many stages of ineffectual compromise, of which we have not yet seen the last, and how for the present it refuses to be described in terms of any consistent theory.

Now for our second question: How far can the system be considered a success?

The good results lie on the surface, and have been abundantly advertised.

1. The fact that nearly the whole of the juvenile population between the ages of five and fourteen is kept under strict control and out of mischief during some five hours of every weekday (with the rather important exception of the holidays) does undoubtedly conduce materially to the comfort of their elders: though it may also make us more keenly alive to the contrast during the hours when the schoolmaster's jurisdiction is in abeyance, and the youngsters have the run of the streets. This is a very small matter. But it is not altogether a small matter that the law of compulsory attendance places the child in a different and less deferential relation towards its own parents than if the

choice of a school and the going to it or being kept at home depended entirely on them. Those who know more than I do of Indian domestic life will be able to say whether this point is more or less important there than here.

✓ 2. It is doubtless something that complete illiteracy is now rare in both sexes. Whereas in 1843 nearly one-third of the males and nearly one-half of the females were unable to sign their own names in the marriage register, the percentage in 1903 was only 1·3 for males and 1·5 for females. But even the first-mentioned English figures, for a period long before compulsion began, and while grants-in-aid were still very small, are far above the Indian figures of 1901, one male literate in ten, and one female in one hundred and forty-four. Thus the larger part of the present superiority of England in respect of elementary education had been already attained before, and therefore independently of, those drastic measures of taxation and compulsion on the adoption of which, we are now told, that India's educational salvation depends.

3. It is also something gained that a select few in every generation climb up the educational ladder to positions of wide usefulness and responsibility; though it may be added that such rises of self-made men were by no means unknown in England in the days when they had to make their own education ladder as best they could.

4. It is much more that some notions of cleanliness, punctuality, and order, which would hardly have been learnt in the home, have been implanted in millions of young minds with some chance of taking root; though it is to be feared that these often wither away rapidly when the adult surroundings are unfavourable.

5. I am also quite ready to be convinced, and inclined to believe, notwithstanding the recent school-boy strikes, that the life of the average boy or girl during the age of compulsory attendance is now, on the whole, happier than was that of their parents or grand-parents who escaped this compulsion. But if, and so far as, this is so, it is owing to

conditions and precautions which have by no means always characterized English elementary schools, and must, I imagine, be very difficult to secure in India.. It is very easy to make a schoolboy's life one of intense misery, and considering that to many it is destined to be the whole of life, I consider this question only a little less important than that of the after career of those who are not prematurely cut off. This last question, the most vital of all, is unfortunately that on which it is most hopeless to get beyond more or less vague conjecture.

The mere statement of the question, in the only form in which it is worth putting, should be enough to show the impossibility of giving a precise answer ; for it must, if it is to have any close bearing on the present discussion, involve a hypothetical element. The issue raised by Mr. Gokhale's Bill is not simply whether, if the Bill passes, the condition of the masses in India will be better in the next generation than it is now, but whether it will be better in that event than we may reasonably expect it to be, the present rate of progress being maintained in other matters, in the event of the Bill not passing. Consequently we shall gain but little help from English experience if we content ourselves with inquiring whether the condition of the masses is, or is not, better now than it was in 1880, or in 1870, or in 1832. Before we can arrive at any useful conclusion, we must take into account all the other legal and social changes making for general improvement, as well as the influences which were tending to encourage voluntary effort specifically in the field of education before the State intervened. Even as regards the mere reading habit, and the wide diffusion of general information, who is to decide how much of this should be credited to the Board Schools, and how much to the repeal of the paper duty and the democratising of the constitution ; the one facilitating the supply, and the other accentuating the demand, for cheap journalism ? Where the motive is strong for imparting information on the one side and for receiving it on the other, the mere difficulties

of the alphabet are easily surmounted. Where the motive is weak, the process of learning is as slow as it is distasteful, and forgetting is proportionately easy and rapid. The burden of proof, which rests on the advocates of State-provided education, is not discharged by merely proving the *post hoc* of intellectual improvement, unless they also prove the *propter hoc* by excluding all other possible causes, especially where some of the other possible causes operating in England are such as cannot at present be made to operate in India—e.g., popular government. For it must be remembered that in England each great advance in State education was *preceded*, not *followed*, by an extension of the political franchise.

The same observation applies with still greater force to the alleged moral and spiritual benefits. But time will not permit me to do more than remark, generally, that the influences at work in England for the diminution of crime and the improvement of manners during the last three-quarters of a century, legislative, political, religious, and literary, have been so varied and vigorous, quite apart from the work of the Education Department, that the real puzzle is why the decrease of crime is not much greater than that shown by statistics. And I must ask you to note particularly that whatever credit is given to State schools dealing specifically with criminal, pauper, and vagrant children, is quite irrelevant to the question of general compulsory education. Institutions corresponding to our reformatories, industrial schools, training ships, and workhouse schools, through which the State may exercise its unquestionable duty of acting as parent to those children for whom no fit natural guardian can be found, are far more essential to civilization than any interference with illiterate but self-supporting families. If my impression is correct that the supply of such institutions in India is either non-existent or very inadequate, this is surely the want that should be first attended to.

"To close a prison, open a school," is an excellent maxim

in its proper place; but it is very apt to be misapplied. Nobody except the Government can erect or close a prison, but anyone may open a school, and it is found, in practice, that the schools which are most effective in emptying prisons are mostly founded and maintained from motives as different as possible from those likely to predominate in a Government school for primary instruction.

#### PER CONTRA.

Whatever estimate we may choose to put on the benefits of compulsory education in England, we must not omit to consider the cost.

1. Of the actual cost in money I shall say no more than that for the whole United Kingdom it comes to something like 30 millions a year for a population of 45 millions, or 13s. 4d. per head. For us, as a democratically governed people, there is at least this redeeming feature, that this heavy taxation could not be imposed unless a large proportion of the taxpayers believed in the system sufficiently to be willing to pay their share rather than have the expenditure reduced. In India, autocratically governed, there can be no such presumption; and Mr. Gokhale himself understands this so well that he proceeds with extreme caution, and seems practically to leave it open to the different authorities concerned to refuse to spend more than they deem that they can well afford. But the lesson of our experience is that educational expenditure, once started, on however small a scale, cannot be stopped just when it is financially inconvenient without making matters worse than if it had never begun. Much might be said on this topic did time permit.

2. The amount of suffering and permanent injury caused to children while we were buying the experience. It took our authorities thirty years to find out that it is no use trying to teach a hungry child, and there is no indication in Mr. Gokhale's Bill as to how this useless torture is to be prevented. There is neither any provision for free meals

at the school, nor any clause compelling the parent to see that the child is properly fed before he comes to school.

Again, for many years after our compulsory system began, there were bitter complaints from decent parents that their clean, healthy, and well-behaved children were forced into close contact with the vicious, the verminous, and the diseased; while the mentally defective suffered still more by being mixed in a large class with the normally bright, teased by their schoolfellows, and hustled by the impatient teacher. How will it be in India when the rigidity of caste is super-added to the natural repulsion between the refined and the unrefined? All these mischiefs were aggravated while the "Revised Code" was in force, and the teacher's income depended on the number of scholars whom he could manage to drive, well or ill, fresh or tired, clever or stupid, up to the class standard on a given day. We are assured that these and similar evils have now been greatly mitigated, but at a cost far beyond anything originally contemplated, and after irreparable harm done to several school generations. Is the Indian Government prepared to find the means for regular medical inspection, school clinics, and separate classes for defectives?

3. Last and most important of all in the *per contra* account is the religious difficulty, which only superficial thinkers seek to belittle, and only the inexperienced will imagine that they can solve on any other lines than those of pure voluntaryism, or else a return to Tudor and Stuart tyranny.

The belittling of it generally comes from failure to perceive where it is that the shoe really pinches. Attention is concentrated on the parents, and if it is found that they seldom avail themselves of the conscience-clause, and choose the school that is nearest and has the nicest teachers, caring little whether any particular creed, or no creed, is expounded in the first hour of the time-table, we are assured that the religious difficulty is only heard of on the platform, and is non-existent in the school. Even this is hardly true.

in England, much less in Ireland, where Roman Catholics are concerned ; I express no opinion how far it would be true in India if anything in the nature of religious instruction were to be attempted. But anywhere the right of the poor and ignorant parent, who pays nothing for his child's education, to dictate the contents of the curriculum, is less unquestionable than the grievance of the teacher, forced to censure or belie his deepest convictions as the condition of employment, and of all those ministers and laymen who are inspired with missionary zeal, and honourably eager to spend tbought and time and money on the moulding of young minds according to their own ideals. The Training College is the real key of the position. The muddle in which we have landed ourselves is most clearly shown by the fact that a Government which requires " unsectarian Bible lessons " to be given in all its provided schools dares not establish a Training College of its own, either with or without a theological faculty, and dares not require from its certificated teachers any test of their proficiency in this respect.

It will be argued, perhaps, that this does not affect the question of compulsory education in India, because it is agreed on all hands that the instruction given in the compulsory schools, as in all existing Government schools, must be purely secular. Well, the experience of Western nations as to the secular solution is very mixed. It has been on trial for many years in America and in our self-governing Colonies, and opinion is far from unanimous as to whether the moral results are good or bad. It is being tried in a very thorough manner in France, and all we know thus far of the result is that feeling is exceedingly bitter between the official directors of the compulsory schools and the clergy who are supposed to represent the religion of the majority. In Ireland it would not be tolerated for a moment : the schools which are financed with Govcrnment money, and compulsorily attended, are in practice denominational. England and Scotland will have none of it at present.

They may be driven to accept it after the failure of all other experiments, but it will be with extreme reluctance. Why? Because of the same feeling which has lately begun to manifest itself in India, that a scheme of education which is content with pumping in various kinds of examinable knowledge can never be so effective as one which subordinates them all to the general aim of building up character; that no religion can be properly taught except through, and in intimate connection with, the study of more tangible matters, and conversely that a teaching body which ignores such a subject asserts by implication either its own insignificance or that of religion. And what is here said of religion holds good, almost equally, of politics, history, and every other subject which appeals to strong emotions and gives rise to keen controversy. Without these, a course of instruction, even in reading and writing, is uninspiring; with them, compulsion means tyranny to the taught, to the teacher, and to all who are compelled to pay the teacher.

I would ask those Indians who appeal to Western experience to consider carefully the dark as well as the bright side of that experience.

## REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

By PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

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### GENERAL WORKS.

COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA has issued in three volumes, under the title of "Croyances, Rites, Institutions,"\* a great number of articles which he wrote on the varied questions in relation to the history of religions. They represent Orientalism and Semitism.

Y. Fehmi has given an interesting account, and which seems very impartial, of the events that took place in Turkey between 1908-1910.† He is a severe judge of the young Turk. The work has the same tendency as the review "Mécheroustiette" (Ottoman Constitutional), the organ of the radical Ottoman party, which appears in Paris, and whose political director is Sherif Pasha.

### HEBREW, ARAMAEEAN, TALMUDICAL.

We draw attention to a very interesting paper read before the Institute of Carthage by N. Slousch, on the Hebrew and Phoenician civilization in Carthage.‡

One of the most important things that have appeared is the publication by Dr. Sachau of the celebrated Aramaean

\* Three vols. in octavo. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911.

† "La Révolution Ottomane." Paris: V. Girard et E. Brière, 1911.

‡ Tunis, 1911 (reprint from the *Revue Tunisienne*).

papyrus of Elephantine.\* The Berlin Orientalist devotes the greatest care to the translation of the texts, to which he adds explanations and annotations, as also the fac-simile reproduction of the papyrus. This scientific edition reflects the greatest credit on the author. The said texts throw not only light on the Hebrew colony at Elephantine in the fifth century B.C., but also give the interesting and most unexpected fact of the existence in the fifth century in Elephantine—that is to say, in Upper Egypt—of a temple consecrated to Yahu (Yahwéh).

A new part of "Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin" has just appeared. It is the treatise of Mishna : Pesahim (Easter).† H. Strack, in publishing the text with the German translation, and numerous notes and explanations, shows great care and his competence to deal with the work. The special interest of this publication lies in the attention that it draws to the relations of the ritual and the symbolism of Easter in the Mishna, and the traditions of the New Testament on that feast, as also the paschal usages of the Jews of the present day.

An important fasciculus has been added to the German translation of the Talmud of Babylon, published by L. Goldschmidt—the treatise on *Gittin* (divorce).‡

The French edition of the "Zoar," translated by J. de Pauly, and published by E. Lafuma, is now complete. Began in 1906; the last volume has just been brought out (1911).§ The "Zoar" is of wide significance, and the book appeals to a large circle of readers. Cahalists and students of the Cabala beyond the pale of Judaism are drawn in a special way to the study of "Zoar," and religious men and theologians interested in mysticism cannot but feel the

\* Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine, mit 75 Lichtdrucktafeln, quarto. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911.

† In octavo (No. 40). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911.

‡ Fünfter Band, dritte Lieferung: Der Traktat *Gittin* (von der Ehescheidung). Leipzig: Otto Harraesowitz, 1911.

§ Six vols. in octavo. E. Lafuma, Voiron, 1906-1911.

charm of this great mystical work. To the historian of religions, whose taste it is to study sacred books from a scientific and critical point of view, the "Zoar" (the Book of Splendour) is a document of great importance. All these different classes will find J. de Pauly's translation an invaluable aid. It is not only an accurate and admirable rendering of the original text, but it is written in so easy a style that one hardly perceives that it is a translation. The annotations accompanying it bear witness to the competence of the translation in all matters pertaining to Jewish sacred lore. Thanks to the care of the publisher, this fine translation of the great Jewish mystical work of the thirteenth century is brought within the reach of all religious thinkers and readers.

The ninth treaty of *Yôrêh Dêâh* (Ritual on Judaism), on the *lending on interest*, has just appeared in French, into which language M. A. Neviasky has translated it.\* This fasciculus presents a particular attraction because of the subject therein treated; an introduction and numerous notes facilitate the difficulties of the text, which is not always easy to grasp. The reading of this treatise absolves Judaism of all reproach as to the practice of usury.

This treatise of *Shulkan Aruk* concludes with five paragraphs, which are a sort of annex of the principal subject (*Ribith*, interest), and which contain the points of law relating to the heathen practices (sorcery, witchcraft, augury, tattooing, tonsure, shaving, etc.).

N. Slousch, whom we have already mentioned, has brought out an interesting history of contemporary Hebrew lyrical poetry (1882 to 1910).†

#### ISLAM.

The fasciculi viii—x of the "Encyclopédie de l'Islam" have appeared.‡ They continue from the word *Arménie*

\* Paris: E. Leroux, 1911.

† Paris: Mercure de France, 1911.

‡ Leyden: E. J. Brill; Paris: A. Picard, 1911.

to the word *Béloutchistan*. This work is destined to render great services.

L. Caetani has published the fourth volume of his "Annali dell' Islam,"\* which contains the history of the early times of Islam, from the year 18 to the year 22 of the Hegira. This publication is really very remarkable, owing to the wealth of its documentation; it is an inexhaustible mine of information for the historian; the quoted documents (Arabic or others) have undergone a severe test, so that the work possesses all the scientific guarantees which one has a right to expect.

The same author has begun the publication of a work† taken from his "Annali." The first volume, which has just appeared, contains three papers, the first on the magnitude and the importance of Islam; the second a treatise on prehistoric Arabia and the geological fact of the drying up of the earth (aridity of Arabia, originally irrigated and fertile), which explains the migrations of the people (especially the emigration of the Semites from Arabia); the third paper is on Arabia and the Arabs of historic times, and the psychology of the great victories of Islam.

In the volume brought out on the occasion of M. Amari's centenary,‡ H. Derenbourg publishes a remarkable work of M. Amari on the primitive bibliography of the Koran. It is an extract from the inedited Mémoire of the said author on the chronology of the old bibliography of the Koran; the manuscript of this Mémoire is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

We have repeatedly announced the remarkable works of F. Picavet on mediaeval philosophies because of their connection with Arab philosophy. F. Picavet, who is a master of this subject, has now brought out a new volume; it treats of "Roscelin: philosophe et Théologien"§ according to the

\* In quarto (701 pp.). Con quattro carte geografiche e molte illustrazioni. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1911.

† *Studi di storia orientale*. U. Hoepli, 1911.

‡ Palermo, 1910.

§ Paris: F. Alcan, 1911.

legend and the history, and shows the place that he has occupied in the general and comparative history of philosophies in the Middle Ages. This volume is of very great interest ; the author has enriched it with vouchers and precious texts which one is glad to find together.

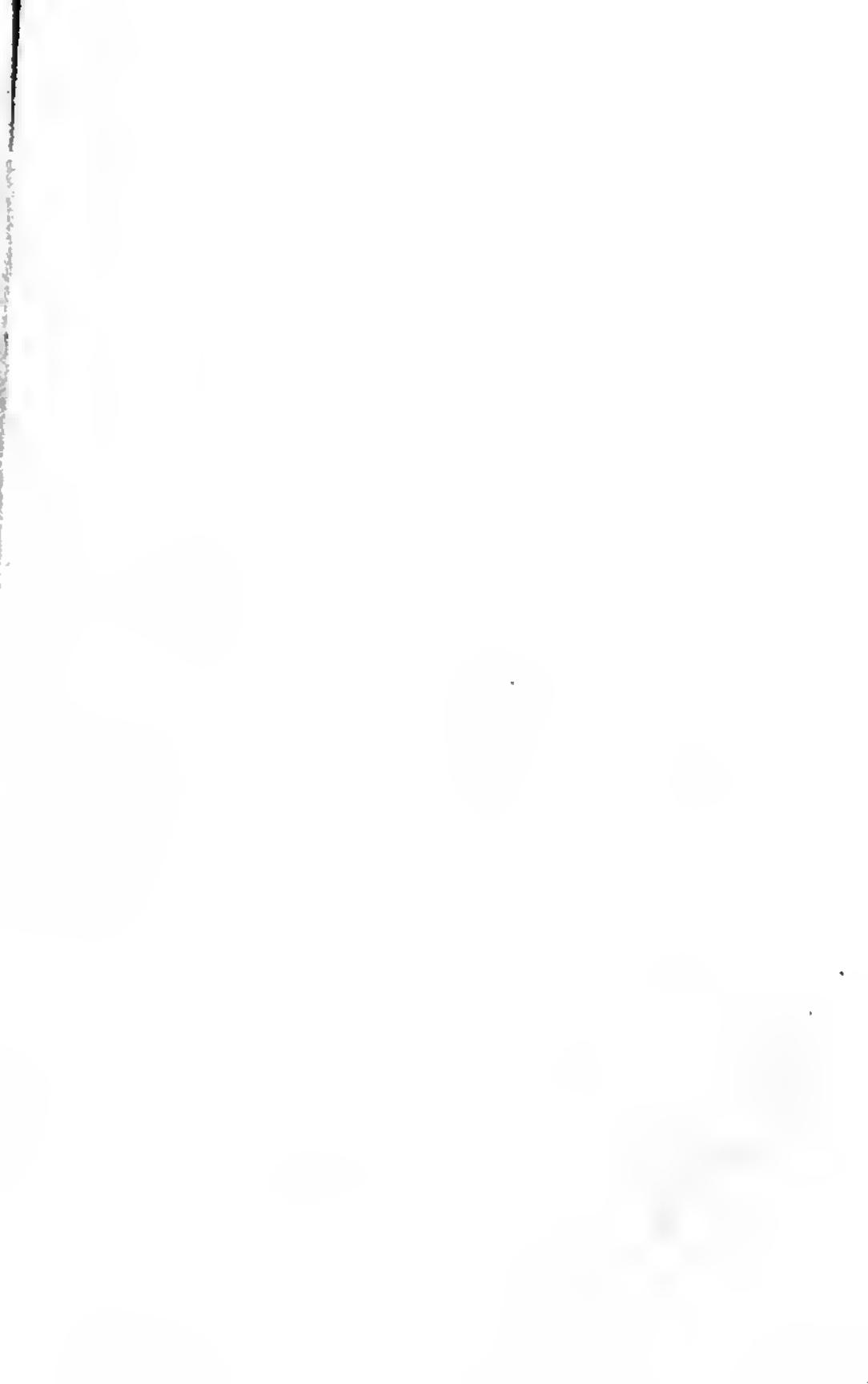
C. Snouck Hurgronje has brought out in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (June, 1911),\* a very interesting essay on Mussulman politics in Holland. It consists of four articles, which treat of the present state of Islam generally,† and more especially in the Dutch colonies.

A posthumous work of Dr. E. Mauchamp, who was assassinated at Marakesh on March 19, 1907, has appeared. This interesting work is entitled, "La sorcellerie au Maroc"‡ (witchcraft in Morocco). It has been published under the care of J. Bois, who prefaces it with a documentary essay on the author and the work. The leaves of the author's manuscript have been collected on the spot of the crime ; they were torn, blotted, and stained with the blood of the unfortunate doctor.

\* Paris : E. Leroux.

† See in our last Report (April, 1911) the notice of two works on the same subject.

‡ Octavo. Paris : Dorbon-Ainé, 1911.





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1. GAÑGĀ, Eastern Regent (Brahmus).
2. CHANDĀ (Hariti), Mother Earth (Brahmū).
3. KUPIRA (Kubera) as VAISRAVĀN or "BISHAMON" (Japan).
4. KUPIRA, Earth God, from GANDHĀRA (Peshawar District).
5. KUPIRA and HARITI, or CHANDĀ, the Buddhist Madonna (the Buddhist Zeus and Hera).

## EVOLUTION OF THE BUDDHIST CULT, ITS GODS, IMAGES, AND ART:

*A STUDY IN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY, WITH REFERENCE TO  
THE GUARDIAN GODS OF THE WORLD AND HĀRITI,  
"THE BUDDHIST MADONNA."*

By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D., C.B.

"Men in Jambudvipa [India], who up to this time had been unassociated with the Gods, have (now) been made associated with the Gods."—ASOKA, the great Buddhist Emperor and propagandist, in his Edicts, translated by Dr. Hultzsch.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally asserted by European writers on Buddhism that that religion arose as a protest against the degrading thraldom of caste and the priestly tyranny of idolatrous Brahmans. Likewise do we hear it stated that Buddha denied the existence of the gods altogether, or gave them no place in his system. "God and the Universe trouble not the Buddhist—he knows only one question: How shall I in this world of suffering be delivered from Suffering?"<sup>2</sup>

Now, however, as the result of long study of that religion,

<sup>1</sup> *Sahasrām Edict*—J.R.A.S., 1911, 1,115. Asoka obviously intended by this reference to the gods to enforce the dogma of the higher Buddhism, that in a Buddhist country "there is no difference between gods and men," because all are equally subject to transmigration, (*cf.* *Mahāyāna Texts*, S.B.E., 49 [ii.], 12, 42, 62); but the existence of the gods is here accepted by Asoka, whose favourite title was "The Beloved of the Gods."

<sup>2</sup> Oldenberg, *Life of Buddha*, 130.

at first hand in all the leading Buddhist countries, and of the question of its origin, I am led to a different conclusion.

### BUDHA'S BUNDHISM THEISTIC.

It would appear that Sākyā Muni himself, notwithstanding his keen desire for deliverance from life and the agnostic idealism of much of his philosophy, manifestly took over the ancient Brahmanical mythology of his day with its pantheon as an integral part of his working theory of the universe. In so doing, however, he, like some other Vedantist teachers of his time, assumed to himself a position superior to the gods. His gods at first were those of orthodox Brahmanism; but his followers, about two centuries after his death—about 250 B.C.—began to evolve a theistic system of their own distinct from that of the Brahmins. Indeed, it seems to me that, *until a cult was established, and it became decidedly theistic from within, Buddhism never was a religion at all!*

This new view is supported by the trend of modern scientific research, and invests the theistic aspect of Buddhism with unexpected importance. It also brings that faith into line with the other great religions of the world, from which it has been kept apart owing to its supposed exceptional character, as an atheism.

In the oldest canonical literature of the ancient Buddhist Church several strata can be distinguished, but in the very lowest and earliest of these, in the Pāli versions of Ceylon, the Buddha is already represented as referring to the gods and demons in nearly every discourse. This he does in such a circumstantial way that these supernatural beings form an essential part of the narrative, and preclude the probability that they are all later interpolations or embellishments. Most of the tales of the Master's former births, the *Jātakas*, which are believed by the Buddhists of all sections to have been his favourite method of enforcing moral lessons, hinge upon his own previous existence as a god or other supernatural being. The numberless

allusions to visits received from the gods Indra and Brāhma, and his own visit to the heaven of Brāhma and to the heaven of Indra to preach the Law to his deceased mother, are circumstantially recorded in the early Pāli and Sanskrit texts and in the still earlier sculptures, and are implicitly believed in by the Buddhists of all sections of the faith, and manifestly from the earliest times. In an early Pāli text,<sup>1</sup> the Master himself commands the pious Buddhist householder that he ought to perform the five sacrifices (*bali*), the highest of which is worship of the Brahmanical gods.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, we find Brahmanist gods everywhere conspicuous in the earliest Buddhist sculptures, adorning the *stūpa* of Bharhut, dating from the second to first century B.C.—that is, to within four centuries after the currently accepted date for Buddha's death (namely, 483 B.C.),<sup>3</sup> and before the scriptures were reduced to writing in the Pāli.<sup>4</sup> The gods are represented as servitors and worshippers of Buddha, whose own former existences also as a god or other spirit, in the *Jātakas* are depicted in numerous reliefs. There is no doubt as to their identity, for most of the Bharhut reliefs are fortunately labelled with their names, and thus

<sup>1</sup> *Anguttara-Nikāya*, ed. R. Morris, 1885, ii. 68. Cf. K.M.B., 68.

<sup>2</sup> The five *bali* are offerings to (1) beings, (2) men, (3) the Fathers, (4) the Gods, and (5) the Brahmins. Cf. S.B.E., 2: 47, 195; 7: 193, 276 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1909, 23. V. A. Smith prefers 487 B.C., *Early History of India*, 1908, 30.

<sup>4</sup> The Pāli canon was first reduced to writing, according to the claim of the Ceylonese themselves, 433 years after Buddha's death. Taking the latter event at 483 B.C. (see note 3), this gives us  $483 - 433 = \pm 50$  B.C., for the date of the Pāli canon; but we will see from the evidence of the two Regents I have just identified in the Bharhut sculptures that it was probably much later, and within the Christian era. Cf. also K.M.B., 120. Minayeff, from a general survey of the Bharhut inscriptions, concluded (M.R.B., 152): "It results from all the above facts that, more than merely 'apparently,' neither the inscriptions nor the sculptures of Bharhut furnish any indication of the existence of an actual Pāli canon at the epoch when the Buddhist faithful adorned this sacred place. These faithful had incontestably their written scriptures, but it was not in the Pāli language, and their contents differed from the text of Ceylon."

form the earliest illustrated documents of authenticated Buddhist history we possess. The great Buddhist Emperor Asoka's favourite title, as is well known, was "Beloved of the Gods," and his reference to his efforts in bringing men nearer to the gods is proudly asserted in his edict as quoted at the head of this paper. As showing the theistic atmosphere in which the monks moved, one of the formal questions for admission to the fraternity was whether or not the candidate was a Nāga-serpent spirit in human guise.

### RISE OF THE BUDDHA CULT.

To Buddha's day there was clearly no Buddha cult, and the gods of the monks and lay patrons or admirers of Buddha were the orthodox Brahmanist ones, subordinated, more or less, to the holy man, the Buddha. But a few centuries later, by the early part of the Christian era, we find Buddhism to be fully equipped with an independent pantheon of its own, altogether distinct from that of the Brahmans.

That such a theistic development was possible within Buddhism at so early a stage, and followed too by the main body of professing Buddhists, presumes by itself that the faith must originally have possessed theistic elements, as we have seen it had, in fact, in the Brahmanist gods. But Buddha's teaching on the basis of an agnostic idealism depreciated these gods, whilst not in practice manifestly rejecting their worship altogether.

The reactionary policy, however, of Buddha's followers so soon after his death, so seemingly to reverse his agnostic idealism and erect in its stead what appears to have been a materialistic polytheism of their own, seems a paradox, and certainly calls for more exploration than it has yet received. Why were these special divinities evolved? How were they conceived? Why were they assigned the particular forms, names, and attributes with which they are objectively represented in their images and pictures?

As this subject is of fundamental importance in the

history of the Buddhist religion, apart from its bearings upon many of the motives in Eastern art, and has been little explored, I here indicate some of the results of my research in these directions.

At first, in Sākyā Muni Buddha's day ( $\pm 528\text{--}483$  B.C.)<sup>1</sup> and for about two centuries thereafter, there appears to have been no Buddba cult or Buddbist religion, but merely a small struggling fraternity of wandering mendicant ascetics treasuring the name of Buddha as a teacher, and devoted to seeking their own salvation—one of many other similar ephemeral fraternities in India. Such societies of elderly celibates who have renounced the world, each cherishing the name of its own teacher, appear to have been common in India from time immemorial, and are still to be found at the present day. This early Buddhist society of what we might call proto-Buddbism appears to have possessed no special divinities of its own except Maitreya, the "Coming Buddha," and appears to have accepted Māra, a recognized form of Yama, the God of Desire and Death, and the other gods of orthodox Brahmanism without alteration.

#### ASOKA, THE FOUNDER OF THE BUDDHIST CULT.

The institution of a Buddha cult and its enlargement into a religion seems to have been in great measure, if not entirely, the achievement of the Emperor Asoka (272-232 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> This zealous patron of Buddha has been called "the Constantine of Buddhism," but he was really very much more. Indeed, it seems probable that *but for Asoka there would not have been any Buddhist religion at all.*

He covered his vast empire with magnificent monuments in honour of Buddha, with countless stupendous relic-stūpas as Buddhist shrines and centres of pilgrimage, with

<sup>1</sup> Buddha in all the texts is stated to have been about thirty-five years of age when he attained Buddbahood and became a teacher, and eighty years old when he died. For date of latter epoch cf. p. 3, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For date, Asoka, V. A. Smith, 64.

innumerable monastic establishments richly endowed on a scale perhaps unprecedented in the ecclesiastical history of the world, by stone-cut edicts he enforced the observance of Buddha's ethical maxims as the State religion, and sent numerous missionaries into the adjoining lands to propagate the faith. Under such commanding propaganda the cult developed rapidly, and soon assumed a more decidedly theistic form by evolving gods of its own, independent of Brahmanism. Then, and manifestly as a consequence of this theistic development, it extended outside the monastic order to become a religion of the people.

In every country in which Buddhism is professed as a religion it exhibits a positively theistic character, and the popular cult consists mainly in a worship of the spirits. This is the case in "Southern" as well as in the "Northern" sections, as is fully attested by those writers who are intimately acquainted with the people, such as Spence Hardy for Ceylon, Alabaster for Siam, Sir R. Temple<sup>1</sup> and Sir George Scott for Burma. The latter authority has recently written : "It is a matter of common knowledge that the most outwardly fervent Buddhists are at heart really animists. . . . Buddhism [the higher Buddhism] does not fit the every-day life."<sup>2</sup> And the lithic testimony of Ancient India proves that this has manifestly been so from the very commencement of the cult.

#### RISE OF SPECIAL NEW BUDDHIST DEITIES.

This theistic movement to which Buddhism began to create special divinities of its own independently of those in Brahmanism appears to have arisen within the "Greater Congregation" (*Mahāsanghika*), a schism which had occurred before the Pāṭaliputra (Patna) Council of 251 B.C. in Asoka's reign.<sup>3</sup> The name of this schism implies that it had attracted the majority of professing Buddhists as well as the more learned elements of the order, from the

<sup>1</sup> *Spirit Worship in Burma*, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S., 1911, 924.

<sup>3</sup> K.M.R., 110.

term "teachers" (*ācāryavāda*) applied to its members by the adherents of the residue which remained orthodox.<sup>1</sup>

### BUDDHA-GODS.

One of its tenets was the theory of a plurality of coeval Buddhas in the different quarters, which, an early Pali text<sup>2</sup> states, was common to all the sects and therefore probably an original feature of the creed. In the *Mahāvastu*, a Sanskrit text dating to the second century B.C.,<sup>3</sup> a plurality of Buddhas is invoked. And I shall show that in the Bharhut sculptures of the second to first centuries B.C., special Buddhist divinities are already represented.

The wide development of theistic activity was effected mainly by the "Greater Vehicle" or *Mahāyana*, a movement which arose within the Greater Congregation about the first century B.C., it cannot well be later. And notwithstanding that the *Mahāyana* was primarily a nihilistic mysticism, with a polytheism only in the background, the latter soon came to the front and has contributed more than anything else to the materializing and popularity of Buddhism.

### BODHISATTVA-GODS.

This popular movement rendered the attainment of Bodhisatship easier by providing the laity, as well as the increasing crowd of monks, with a "larger vehicle" (= *Mahāyāna*) for more easy and certain conveyance to *Nirvāna*. For this object it evolved a series of living and actively compassionate divine Buddhas in place of the historical human Buddha who had, "like his predecessors, passed away" (*Tathāgata*), and to supplement the relatively impassive coeval Buddhas of the quarters. These active divinities or Bodhisattvas were regarded as beings who had attained supreme enlightenment (*Bodhi*) but had postponed

<sup>1</sup> K.M.B., 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Kathavatthu*, p. atthakathā 6; Minayeff, Pali Text Society, 1889. Cf. K.M.B., 4.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature in Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, 1908, II, 260.

their *Nirvāna* in order to assist mankind to reach that goal. Their evolution appears to have had for a basis the mystical meanings read into words uttered by the Buddha himself. They lived in heaven as Buddhist gods like Maitreya and helped those human beings who called unto them.

One of the earliest lists of these divine Bodhisattvas appears in that life of Buddha entitled the *Lalita Vistara*, the first version of which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 67-70,<sup>1</sup> thereby implying the pre-existence of this work in India at or before the beginning of our era. A more developed list, and a narrative of the doings and attributes of these divinities, occurs in the "Lotus of the Good Law," *Saddharma Pundarīka*, which is placed, by the most competent authority,<sup>2</sup> at "some centuries earlier" than A.D. 250, the date when it was translated into Chinese—that is to say, about the first century of our era. In this work the most popular of these Bodhisattvas are located in the everlasting Abode of Bliss (*Sukhāvatī*), the Western Paradise of the Buddha-god of "Boundless Life," *Amitāyus* or *Amitābha*.<sup>3</sup>

#### **EARLIEST IMAGES OF THE SPECIAL BUDDHIST GODS ARE OF GRECIAN SCHOOL.**

The earliest images of these divine Bodhisattvas are found in Northern India, in the Grecian style of the *Gandhāra* or Peshawar school, dating to the beginning of the Christian era. The largest collection of these Greco-Buddhist sculptures is perhaps that procured by me in the Swat Valley (the *Suastos* of the Greeks) for the Government of India, comprising several hundreds of beautiful reliefs which now adorn the India Museum at Calcutta, as well as forming a part of the famous collection at Labore, as was reported in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1896, and at the Oriental Congress in Paris in 1887 (Sec. I.,

<sup>1</sup> S. Julien in L.V.F., xvii; Beal, S.B.E., xix, xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Kern, S.B.E., xxi, xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

pp. 245-7).<sup>1</sup> and many of them have been utilized to illustrate the life of Buddha and the early history of Buddhist art by various writers.<sup>2</sup> The images of this era and type, of which the British Museum also possesses a few examples, were sculptured by artists of the Grecian school, and represent these Bodhisattvas as well as Buddha himself in classical Greek style, and, from the few inscriptions in *Kharosthi* characters<sup>3</sup> associated with them, date presumably from about the first to the third century of our era. This fertile source of material for eliciting the earlier history of Buddhism has been utilized to some extent, especially in its art aspects, by Grünwedel, Burgess, Foucher, Smith and others ; but it still remains mostly uninterrogated regarding the question of the genesis of the new divinities.

From the third century A.D. onwards the theistic activity within the Mahāyāna proceeded steadily, doubtless under the stimulus of seeing the wholesale creation of popular gods which was taking place within the parent religion, Brahmanism, existing by its side. Many of these new divinities were latterly represented, like those of Brahmanism, as many-armed and monstrous in form ; though such images were supposed by European writers to have

<sup>1</sup> During the occupation of the Independent Swat Valley by our troops in the Chitral War of 1895, I represented to the Government of India the desirability of exploring the numerous mounds of ancient Buddhist ruins in Swat which had formerly been a favourite residence of Indo-Scythian kings and a famous centre of Buddhism, and I especially emphasized the desirability of utilizing that unique opportunity for securing specimens of the beautiful Indo-Grecian Buddhist sculptures for our museums, as these sculptures were of great importance in the history of Indian art, and the Calcutta Museum was notoriously deficient in such specimens. Government acceded to my proposal, and deputed me to carry out the work. As a result, with the kind co-operation of the political officer, Major (afterwards Sir) H. A. Deane, I procured several hundreds of those magnificent friezes, reliefs, and statuettes of the "Gandhara" school, and I arranged for the excavation of the others, now displayed at Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> Some have been published by Dr. Burgess in *Journal of Indian Art*, vol. viii., and in his edition of Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*, 1901 ; also by M. Foucher in his *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> G. Bühl, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1896, x. 55, etc.

been the creations of "Northern" Buddhism outside India, i.e. China, Nepal, Tibet, Corea and Japan.

### BUDDHISM IN INDIA WAS MAINLY POLYTHEISTIC MAHĀYĀNA.

In 1894 I reported my discovery<sup>1</sup> that most of the many-armed and otherwise inexplicable Buddhist divinities, which had hitherto been regarded by Europeans as evolved in China, Japan, and other foreign countries, were in reality the creation of Indian Buddhism, and had their origin in Mid-India, in the cradle of Buddhism itself, in the heart of the Buddhist Holy Land. Here I found their sculptured images to abound in the ruins of ancient Buddhist temples all over Magadha and Mid-India, where they had been passed over in the belief that they were nondescript Brahmanist images.

That important discovery, as I wrote at the time, "brings the much-despised Mahāyāna form of Buddhism [generally treated as un-Indian in origin] fully home to the very cradle-land of Buddhism in India, and invests it with unexpected importance in the history of Indian Buddhism. For no one has yet realized the vast extent to which Mahāyāna and Tantrik Buddhist sculptures cover India, nor sufficiently realized the leading part played by the Mahāyāna in Indian Buddhism during its most popular period. After having studied 'Southern' Buddhism in Ceylon and Burma, and 'Northern' Buddhism in Nepal, Sikkim, and latterly in China and Japan, on coming to Magadha and following in the footsteps of the famous pilgrim-traveller, Hinen Tsiang, it was quite a revelation to find in the Buddhist Holy Land itself so much of the Lamaist pantheon, including forms hitherto believed to be Tibetan in origin, represented in the hoary Buddhist images strewn over the old ruined fanes throughout the country, or collected by pious Hindu hands at Brahmanist shrines. Nearly every village throughout the Buddhist Holy Land contains old Mahāyāna and Tantrik Buddhist sculptures, and I have seen these also at

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1894, 51-59.

most of the old Buddhist sites visited by me in other parts of India. Hitherto most of these allegorical images, strange and fantastic in form, have lain unrecognized and unheeded even by the Archaeological Survey Department, in the belief that they were uninteresting Hindu images, as many of them are worshipped as Brahmanical gods in the villages. Yet these neglected images afford important information regarding the development as well as the degeneration of Buddhism during the dark period of its Indian history, subsequent to Hinen Tsiang's visit in the seventh century A.D."<sup>1</sup>

#### IDENTIFICATION OF THE POLYTHEISTIC IMAGES.

The keys to unlock the identity and meanings of these allegorical images of extinct Indian Buddhism were, I found, largely in the hands of the Lamas,<sup>2</sup> who jealously treasured the ancient Indian Buddhist traditions and practice, with a scrupulous reverence which has preserved that tradition practically unaltered since medieval times.

My authoritative sources of information for the identification of these images I found in Tibet in the form of detailed descriptions of the deities translated from Indian texts and notes of early pilgrim monks. The chief four of these handbooks I cited in my "Buddhism of Tibet," pp. 326, etc., the oldest being compiled by Buston of Zhalu Monastery (A.D. 1289-1363), under the title of "The Hundred *Sadhanas*," or "The Means of Propitiating the Hundred [Gods]." By means of the very precise descriptions in these handbooks, and by the help of some Lamas, I succeeded in identifying all the photographs of the many puzzling Buddhist images I had found scattered over Magadha and other parts of Mid-India.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> One of the first indications for using "Northern" Buddhism as a source for interpreting the *Ajanta* and other medieval paintings and sculptures was suggested by Dr. Burgess, who in 1879 appended to his archaeological report (No. 9) for Western India a descriptive note of several Buddhist divinities from modern Nepalese sources; but as the Buddhist order had long been extinct in Nepal, these were fragmentary, and less authoritative than the Tibetan. For medieval Nepalese see p. 116, n. 2.

As an instalment of these results, I published in 1894<sup>1</sup> descriptions of the recognized forms (forty-nine in number) of the most popular of the Bodhisattvas, Avalokita, "the God of Mercy," and his consort Tārā, the Buddhist "Queen of Heaven," with photographic illustrations of some of these forms I had found amongst the ancient Indian sculptures. The rest of my identifications of 1891-93 had to be postponed owing to the expense of reproducing the necessary illustrations. Meanwhile M. Foucher has latterly published<sup>2</sup> on similar lines to my pioneer article some twelfth-century manuscript miniatures from Nepal also Sanskrit ritual-texts (*Sadhanas*), giving descriptions of several of them, which confirm the accuracy of the Tibetan record, whilst they leave undescribed many lithic forms found in India, which I have already identified from the Tibetan sources. I hope, therefore, still to publish eventually the translations I made from the more exhaustive Tibetan texts, so that students may be able to identify the numerous images in the various museums and elsewhere.

#### PROCESS OF CREATING THE BUDDHIST GODS.

These ritualistic handbooks, in providing us with precise and authoritative descriptions of the various Buddhist divinities, at the same time disclose to us by means of the special emblems and attributes ascribed to each divinity what was the traditional view of the function of the deity that the monks wished to impress upon the people. Thus we gain insight into the popular want in India which the monks endeavoured to satisfy in evolving the various divinities, which may help us to explain the evolutions of analogous deities in other religions. Examining the ancient images found in India in the light of these descriptions, we can now try to trace with some reasonable prospect

<sup>1</sup> *The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and his Consort Tārā, the Saviours*, illustrated from the remains in Magadha, J.R.A.S., 1894, 51-89.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*. Paris, 1900 and 1905.

of success the process by which these new divinities were evolved.

In the creative process of evolving new gods and their legends the Buddhists, it appears to me, conceived their divinities generally as departmental gods on the basis of a division of labour. Each god seems to have been so adjusted as to embody some Buddhistic ethical principle or metaphysical sphere, over which he is supposed to preside with clearly defined functions. The ethical standpoint generally adopted by the Buddhists is characteristic, and sharply distinguishes a large number of their gods from the Brahmanist. All the earlier gods seem to have been of a beneficent type. On examining their titles, functions, and images, I seem to discern the following underlying motive principles as the lines on which the gods were created :

1. *Personification of Ethical Qualities.*—This, as I have already indicated,<sup>1</sup> is analogous to the Roman deification of Virtus, Pax, Fortuna, etc. Thus in Buddhism we have Personified "Brotherly Love" (*Maitreya*, the Coming Messiah Buddha); Personified Compassion (*Karuna* or *Avalokita*); "Completely Virtuous" (*Samantabhadra*).

2. *Personification of Personal Titles or Epithets of Buddha*, applied to his mystical reflexes or spiritual sons. Thus are "The Boundless Light" (*Amitābha*), "The Lion's Roar" (*Simhanāda*), "The Illustrious Sweet Voice" (*Makjughosha-sri*), "The King of Physicians" (*Bhaishajya-rāja*).

3. *Personification of Metaphysical Categories*—e.g., Transcendental Wisdom (*Prajña*).

4. *Deification of Pictorial Creations of Artists.*—It has been suggested by Professor Grünwedel<sup>2</sup> that the development of the Bodhisattva *Vajrapāni*, or the "Thunderbolt Wielder," has been evolved from the

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S., 1894, 57.

<sup>2</sup> G.B.B.A., 53-94.

early sculptures of the Grecian artists who represented the god Indra in attendance on Buddha in the form of Zeus carrying a thunderbolt, which is Indra's recognized symbol. It remains, however, to be proved that the Bodhisattva Vajrapāni was evolved posterior to the Gandhara sculptures. In the Sanskrit *Vinaya*, vol. ii., in its Tibetan translation, states that the "Yaksha" Vajrapāni accompanied Sākyā Muni to "the North of India," where many converts were made<sup>1</sup>—this *Yaksha* Vajrapāni may be a title of Indra, who is sometimes called a *Yaksha*.

5. *Re-shaping Secondary Synonyms of Brahmanist Gods.*—Secondary titles of Brahmanist gods are sometimes applied to the Buddhist, who possess somewhat analogous functions—e.g., *Padma pāni* or "the Lotus-handed" title of Brāhma to Avalokita; *Vaisrāvana*, the "Bishamon" of the Japanese, or "Visrava's Son" a patronymic of the Brahmanical *Kubera*, the Guardian God of the North and of Riches (see Plate, Figs. 3, 4, and 5).

6. *Fusion or Syncretism of two or more Modes, or with Aboriginal Deities absorbed.*—This process, which occurred only in the later Tantrik period, resulted in monstrous forms with a multiplicity of arms to carry the extra symbols of the added functions. In the later forms the animal heads of the amalgamated aboriginal demons appear, and confer malignant qualities upon originally beneficent Buddhist gods. This may be viewed as a relapse towards the lower aboriginal pre-anthropomorphic stage of beliefs.

#### MODE OF REPRESENTING THE NEW GODS IN IMAGES.

In picturing forth concretely the physical embodiments of these new gods, Buddhism, itself an offshoot of Brahmanism and primarily intended for Hindus, manifestly took the pre-existing images of the Brahmanist gods such as we

<sup>1</sup> C.A., xx. 64.

see on the Bharbut Stupa as their models. The Buddhists appear to have seized upon some of the more popular and beneficent Brahmanist gods, possessing somewhat analogous functions to that which they had in view, and clothed them with distinctive emblems to symbolize their special attributes. The elements of this symbolism also were mostly borrowed from and followed the lines laid down by Brahmanist canons and tradition, though some of them, such as the "Wheel" as a symbol of the Law, appear to have been new. The pre-existence of Brahmanist types of the images has been questioned by some writers, but it is undoubted. We have only to refer to the Sānchi and Bharbut sculptures of the second century B.C. to see there Brahmanical images of deities such as *Lakshmi* and others<sup>1</sup> already stereotyped in exactly the same identical form in which they are still represented at the present day, and which must have taken several centuries to evolve and presumably belong to a period before Alexander's invasion.

The *Bodhisattva* gods were represented as earthly princes richly adorned with silks and jewels, and each assumed a characteristic attitude and appropriate symbols either altogether different from the Brahmanist or arranged in such a different manner as to be absolutely specific and distinctive from each divinity, just as in early Christian art the Saints were represented—Mark with a lion, John with a book, Andrew with an X-cross. It was the rigidly specific and stereotyped character of this symbolism which enabled the votaries to distinguish at once a Buddhist image from those of the Brahmans or Jains, and by its distinctive form, attitude, dress, attribute emblems, complexion colour, etc., to recognize the particular divinity without the aid of inscriptions; and this stereotyped form is strictly preserved by Buddhist artists to the present day.

Thus *Avalokita*, or "Personified Compassion," appears

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, C.S.B., Plate xxxv., Fig. 1, etc.

to me, from the reasons I have cited elsewhere in detail,<sup>1</sup> to have been modelled after Brahmā in his aspects as *Lokesvara*, the "Lord of the World," and *Prajāpati*, or "Father of Living Beings," who carries his flask of vivifying ambrosia, which is the special attribute of Avalokita, whose synonym "Lotus-handed," *Padma-pani*, is also a synonym of Brahmā. In him were merged also some of the attributes of the Hindu god *Vishnu*, the Preserver, whose worship at that time had become popular and whose beneficent attributes be shared. The earliest images of Avalokita represent him as a dispenser of benefits worldly as well as spiritual. He stands with the flask of ambrosia in his left hand and his right in the "bestowing" pose, usually feeding an emaciated, hungry being; and on his head, seated amidst the plaited hair, is usually an image of his spiritual father, the metaphysical Buddha Amitābha of the western paradise, of whom Avalokita is described as an active ministering reflex. A lotus flower is also displayed at his side or held in his hand, a symbol of divine birth and probably of solar significance. When the new function was imposed on him of patron of mystic spells and protector of the religion, his hands being already occupied he required another form or mode, or an additional pair of arms to carry the rosary, etc. Other and later modes, obviously suggested by different etymologies of his title as "The Keen-eyed Looker" or "The Looking Down Lord" (*Avalokitesvara*), represent him as possessing myriads of eyes on his palms or in the halo of light enveloping him, ever on the outlook for those who are in distress, and with many hands stretched out to help them. The transfer of *Avalokitesvara's* attributes by the Chinese and Japanese to the aboriginal female deity *Kwanyin*, or "*Kwannon*," a Taoist goddess of mercy and of progeny, before the advent of Buddhism, is to be explained in part by a confusion of homonyms whereby the element *svara* of *esvara*, "lord" is taken to mean "Voice"; hence *Kwan+yin*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita, etc.*, J.R.A.S., 1894, 57, etc.

was interpreted "looking on + sound,"<sup>1</sup> that is, as searching for the *Voces* of the cries or prayers of those in distress.

So, too, Tārā, the Indian Buddhist goddess of Mercy, she seems to me to have been suggested by the Brahmanical Lakshmī, the goddess of Beauty and Good Fortune. She, according to the myth, sprang like Aphrodite from the froth of the ocean and appeared holding a lotus in her hand, *Padma-pani*, as does Tārā. What seems to be the Buddhist version of this story, and the first extant reference to Tārā, is found in the *Saddharma-Pundarīka* (i.e., before A.D. 250), which describes how the daughter of Sāgara, the ocean, became a divine Bodhisattva.<sup>2</sup> My view of this origin for Tārā is accepted by Professor Grinwedel.<sup>3</sup> We will find a fresh link in the chain of her origin is supplied by our examination of the Bharhut sculptures, which shows her obvious physical prototype in *Chandā* or *Chandra*, a mother of Buddha in his previous birth; and according also to Brahmanical myth, the wife of Chandra, whose spouse (Chandrā) was the mother of the Brahmanist god Budha.

#### DIFFERENT TREATMENT OF IMAGES BY DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF ART.

The artistic treatment of these conceptions by the different schools introduced considerable differences in the style, and details of the images in different parts of the Buddhist world; but the elements of the symbolism and the Indian style of dress was generally adhered to by the artists, and made conspicuous. The Gandhāra School of Northern India (from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.), inspired as it was by the canons of Greek art, reproduced the Buddhist deities in the form of Zeus and other classic Grecian gods, and subordinated the symbolism to the artistic effect. It impressed its influence upon Indian art so deeply that it is now recognized that even the familiar orthodox image of Buddha himself owes

<sup>1</sup> E.S.D., 25.

<sup>2</sup> Kern, S.B.E., xl, 250.

<sup>3</sup> *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, 1906, p. 142.

its artistic style to the spiritualizing influence of this foreign school.

The famous Amarāvati marbles, some of which now adorn the grand staircase of the British Museum, date to the first century A.D., and are mainly of this Mahāyāna type, and exhibit marked Grecian influence. The more indigenous schools gave greater prominence to the symbolism, as seen at their earliest in the Bharhut, Sānchi, and Bhilsa stupas, and later in Mid-Indian sculptures and in the Ajantā and other cave-paintings, where the extant frescoes preserve much of the original colouring. Colouring was applied also to the sculptures, as the gods were assigned different complexions. The female figures exhibit the exuberant sensuous charms of the Indian ideal of beauty. The canons of the Indian school were adopted with little modification by Burma, Siam, Java, Ceylon, and so, too, by Tibet.

On the other hand, Chinese and Japanese art instincts, relying more upon form than colouring or symbolism, have tended to pay more attention to the ancient modelling, as we shall see with regard to the Guardian Gods of the World, and to reject the more monstrous and many-armed creations of the later period. China, too, with characteristic reticence, has everywhere tended to suppress distinctions of sex.

#### CHANGES IN FUNCTIONS OF DEITIES BY ABSORPTION OF ABORIGINAL DEITIES.

The functions of these deities, as reflected in the symbolism of their images, underwent great changes, mostly of a degenerative kind, in the course of centuries. We have seen how this process affected the forms of Avalokita's image. These changes appear to have followed along the lines taken by its fellow-rival and parent religion, Brahmanism, in the later degenerate phases of that religion, when it absorbed the non-Aryan malignant gods of the Indian aborigines, many of which were of animal form. Coupled with this was also the rise of the devotional spirit (*Bhakti*)

in Hinduism about the seventh century, and the craving for a variety of personal gods. To satisfy apparently this popular craving for a more aboriginal and malignant type of god, Indian Buddhism appears to have followed the lead of its Brahman rival, and imported these aboriginal demons into its pantheon. These demons, with little modification, were superposed upon the originally benign divinities ; and the superposing of function entailed either new modes of that particular god, or the superposing of the symbols of those functions in the one image, which meant extra arms to carry these symbols.

This, it seems to me, is the obvious explanation of the many-armed, monstrous images of the later period. To the Indian mind, steeped in the living tradition of non-anthropomorphic gods, as seen in the numerous formless mud mounds representing their village deities, there seems nothing incongruous for a supernatural being to display these monstrous limbs. Such adventitious limbs are never attached to the images of the human Buddha, but only to mythological creations. Different modes latterly in Buddhism, as in Brahmanism, are represented in one image by three or more heads of different aspects. Certain of these later polycephalic images of Buddhism I have traced to popular Brahmanist deities, who have been "overcome" and so absorbed by the Buddhist, who then wears the attribute-emblems of the vanquished demon, and exercises the functions of the latter in addition to his own. But all this belongs to the later degenerate period, when the spiritualizing influence of Buddhism was almost dead, and Indian art was too decadent to revolt against such monstrosities.

So much for the general principles on which the Buddhist gods and their functions were obviously evolved and conceived, and their images and attributes physically depicted.

## THE BUDDHIST GUARDIAN GODS OF THE WORLD—*LOKAPĀLA*.

We are now in a position to explore the origin of others of the more important or interesting special Buddhist gods in the light of their earliest images.

In the rest of this article I deal with the hitherto unexplored question of the origin of the Buddhist "Guardian Gods of the World," or *Lokapāla*, more generally known as "The Four Great King-Gods," or Heavenly Kings (Sanskrit, *Chaturmahārāja deva*; Pāli, *Chattaro mahārajāno*).

This group of guardian gods has been a conspicuous appendage of Buddhism from the earliest times. They are alluded to in all the early versions of the canon, both Pāli<sup>1</sup> and Sanskrit,<sup>2</sup> as having intimate relations with the Master himself.

They are described as having been present at most of the great episodes of his life. They carried his mother's couch to the place of incarnation;<sup>3</sup> and "as four angels, swords in the hands, stood guard over the Bodhisat and his mother."<sup>4</sup> They received the new-born babe "on the skin of a spotted tiger."<sup>5</sup> In "the guise of four Brahmans" they bore the palanquin with the infant Sākyā prince from the Lumbini grove to the palace in Kapilavastu<sup>6</sup>—this scene is portrayed in one of the fine friezes in my collection of Gandhāra sculptures in the Calcutta Museum.<sup>7</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> *Maddugga*, i. 6, 30; *Digha Nikāya*, iii. 6; *Paritta*, 22; *Jātakas*, Commentaries, etc.; *Nidina-kathā*, H.M.B., 2,023, 142, etc.; D.B.S., 59, 61, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Lalita Vistara*, L.V.F., 57, 58, 69, 143, 195, 208, 256, 288, 359, 369, 373, 404; *Kā-ṇur-mdo*, 30: 15, etc.; C.A. 485; B.L.B., 52, 71-73, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Nidina-kathā*, H.M.B., 144; D.B.S., 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, H.M.B., 146; D.B.S., 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, H.M.B., 148; D.B.S., 67; Beale's *Records*, H. Tsiang, ii. 25.

<sup>6</sup> B.L.B., 52.

<sup>7</sup> Reproduced in Foucher's *L'art grec-bouddhique du Gandhara*, p. 313.

also assisted at "The Great Renunciation," when the Bodhisat left his home to become a recluse, and each of these four kings is described as holding up a hoof of the prince's horse Kanthaka,<sup>1</sup> as represented in another of the beautiful friezes in my collection.<sup>2</sup> At his attainment of the Buddhahood "they kept watch by the fire-place" as his last meal before enlightenment was prepared by the lady Sujātā;<sup>3</sup> and after his achievement of Buddhahood, it was they who presented to him for his first meal that miraculous bowl which afterwards became "the holy grail" of Buddhism,<sup>4</sup> a scene also depicted in one of the fine Ganōhāra friezes.<sup>5</sup> They were amongst the first of Buddha's converts at Uruvilva,<sup>6</sup> and appearing at many of his discourses, were present at "The Great Passing Away" at Kusinagara.<sup>7</sup> They figure in the *Jātaka* tales, which are ascribed to Buddha, very extensively, both as a group<sup>8</sup> and individually.<sup>9</sup>

In the earliest sculptures their images are conspicuous at the gates of every sacred shrine as guardians, as they still are to the present day. Their statues or frescoes confront the visitor to every temple in Tibet (as figured and described in my *Buddhism of Tibet*<sup>10</sup>), China, Japan, as well as in most temples in Southern Buddhism. One of their number, *Bishamon* (*Vaiśravana*), the king of the *Yaksha* genii, is an especially favourite subject with Japanese artists; and in later times I find their figures have survived in India as frequent doorway motives in decorative art; for the chief function of these guardians in Buddhism, as well

<sup>1</sup> S.B.E., 19: 57; S.B.E., 49 (i.), 61.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced by Burgess in G.B.B.A., 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Nidāna-kathā*, H.M.B., 171; D.B.S., 92.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.B., 187; B.L.B., S.B.E., 19: 167. Kern, S.B.E., 24: 373, D.B.S., 110.

<sup>5</sup> Figured by Burgess in G.B.B.A., 146.

<sup>6</sup> H.B.M., 194.

<sup>7</sup> R.L.B., 137; S.B.E., 19, 208; H.M.B., 361.

<sup>8</sup> *Jātakas*, Nos. 31, 40, 133, 181, 258, 382, 509, 532, 537, 543, 545.

<sup>9</sup> *Jātakas*, Nos. 6, 74, 155, 281, 382, 432, 502, 513, 543, 544, 545.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 83, 84, 289, 330. See also my *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, p. 218.

as in Brahmanism, was to protect buildings from the four directions.<sup>1</sup>

#### ORIGIN OF THE GUARDIAN GODS.

The Buddhist group of these *Lokapāla* differs so entirely in appearance and name from that of the Brahmans (except in the case of one of them, Kubera), that no one hitherto seems to have attempted to discover what connection, if any, exists between them, or in what other way and at what time either the Brahmanist or the Buddhist group arose.

The Brahmanist *Lokapāla* are clearly of post-Vedic age. I find no mention of them in the records of the Vedic period, which on the internal evidence of its own traditional literature, is now taken as extending from about 1500 B.C. to 300 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

When the Eastern branch of the great Indo-European section of the human family, the Aryans, separated from the Persian or Iranian branch at the Vedic epoch (about 1500 B.C.), it appears to have developed its mythology much more slowly than the Greeks and other Western branches. Its nature-gods, the personified elements, remained elemental and of a shadowy character, though gradually assuming an anthropomorphic shape in the hands of the priests, who were bringing these somewhat aloof and generally beneficent gods more into touch with the lives of the people, and at the same time creating themselves—the Brahmans—the exclusive mediators between the gods and man.

So shadowy and ill-defined, however, were the gods and their functions towards the end of the Vedic period that they were still frequently interchangeable with each other. One member of a group assuming the functions of the other and also of another group, so that its poly-

<sup>1</sup> At the Brahmanical house-building rite, *bāli* offerings were made to the *Lokapāla*. *Grihya Sutras*, S.B.E., 30, 123. For special Buddhist duties see after.

<sup>2</sup> M.V.M., *passim*. Macdonell, *Imp. Gaz. India*, 1908, II. 207, 283.

theism became at times almost monotheistic in practice, as in the most advanced stage of religious beliefs. Especially was this so with the Fire god (*Agni*), as was to be expected in a religion which originally was a fire cult. *Agni*, primarily Terrestrial Fire, was thus interchangeable with the aerial god of the Thunderstorm and Lightning, *Indra*, and with the Sun, as different aspects of the same pheoomenon, and also at times with Water and the Winds.

Towards the end of the Vedic period, about 800-300 B.C., the gods were becoming more clearly defined in form and function, and although no category of Guardian gods of the World had yet been evolved, the great elemental gods had become already loosely associated with the quarters. Thus were related :—

The East with *Agni*, the Fire god,<sup>1</sup> interchangeable with *Indra*, God of Lightning.<sup>2</sup>

The South with *Yama*, King of the "Blessed Dead,"<sup>3</sup> representing the Earth.

The West with *Savitri* ("The Generator"), God of Water and Winds.<sup>4</sup>

The North with *Rudra*, the "bountiful" arrayed in golden ornaments,<sup>5</sup> a God of Mountain tops, representing mainly the Air.

This expressed relationship between the quarters, and these four great elemental Vedic gods of the Aryans, was manifestly, it seems to me, the basis upon which the Brahmins evolved their *Lokapāla*, or Guardians of the Quarters in post-Vedic times.

The Group of World Guardians of the Brahmins must have come into existence about the time of Buddha, who lived on the verge of the late Vedic age, when the Brahmins were actively defining and specializing the functions of the Aryan gods, and incorporating the latter with the aboriginal cults. The result of this was to bring the Brahman priests and their hitherto alien Western gods more into contact with the life of the aborigines and the

<sup>1</sup> M.V.M., 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 74, 76.

mixed population that had issued from the Aryan invasion. The aborigioal gods were mainly of a local nature, and the *Lokapāla* exhibit this feature. They were located round the sides of the Hindu Olympus, Mt. Meru (*Kailasa*), the highest (supposed) peak of the Himalayas, upon which the heavens of the gods had latterly been perched by the Brabmans, and were guardians of the heavens, from the demons in their respective directions, as well as guardians of the world of men.

The Brahmanist *Lokapāla* were, and still continue to be, ten in umber, corresponding to the ten directions of Hindu cosmogony—namely, the four cardinal points, the four intermediate points, the nadir and zenith.<sup>1</sup> Those of the four cardinal points held, and still hold, the chief rank, and are :

On the East, *Indra*, the greatest of all the gods, and especial god of the Heavens and Sky, and of Celestial Fire.

On the South *Yama*, god of the Death and Hell—now an *inferno* under the Earth.

On the West *Varuna*, god of the Waters.

On the North *Kubera*, god of Riches and king of the *Yaksha* genii.

Here is this new Brahmanist group, although only one of the four Vedic gods of the former list re-appears by name (*Yama*), each of the substituted gods retains that special character which was associated with the particular direction, and the change is the result of the greater specialization that had set in. *Indra*, the Sky god, who is the producer as well as brother<sup>2</sup> of *Agni* (Fire), and his most frequent associate in Vedic times, now replaces *Agni*, who is restricted to his own proper sphere. *Varuna*, the especial god of the Waters, replaces the dual god of Water and Wind ; and for *Rudra*, as "The Bountiful,"<sup>3</sup> who was now becoming developed into the fierce god *Siva*.

<sup>1</sup> S.B.E., 7 : 4, 25 : 185, 33 : 104.

<sup>2</sup> M.V.M., 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 75. "Rudra in the Rig-Veda is several times called 'bountiful' (*mishravas*), and in the later Vedas the comparative and superlative of this word have only been found in connection with Rudra."

and Mahādeva, a more appropriate substitute was found in *Kubera*, the god of Riches, who is not mentioned in the Vedas, and who, as we will see, was an aboriginal god.

### ANIMAL TRANSPORTERS OF THE BRAHMANICAL LOKAPALA.

As vehicles for their transport, each of these Brahmanist gods, like some of the Assyrian or Perseopolitan (which strongly influenced early Indian art<sup>1</sup>), was provided with a special animal to carry him across his respective region, and this animal vehicle (*vihāna*) has afforded me a valuable clue in tracing the origin of the Buddhist group. In the Vedas, Indra rides across the sky in a chariot drawn by horses,<sup>2</sup> but now as a world-guardian he rides upon the "elephant" *Airāvata*, also called "the elephant of the clouds" (*Abhramatanga*). "Elephants" are also provided by the Brahmins for each of the other guardian gods.<sup>3</sup>

Thus Yama's elephant in the south is *Vāmana*, Varuna's in the west is *Anjana*, and Kubera's in the north is *Sarva-Chauma*.<sup>4</sup> These "elephants" in later Brahmanist times relieved their masters of the guardianship and became the *Lokapāla* themselves,<sup>5</sup> a fantastic idea recalling Jumbo's exploits in the juvenile story-books. But we shall see a more probable explanation is suggested by their earliest images.

### THE BUDDHIST GUARDIAN KINGS OR LOKAPALA.

The Buddhist group of Guardians differs so entirely from the above in name and conventional form, with the exception of the name (but not the form) of Kubera, that the relationship to the Brahmanist regents is not obvious.

Their personal names in Sanskrit are here noted in the order in which they were latterly enumerated; and in addi-

<sup>1</sup> See the fine colossal Perseopolitan capital unearthed by me at Pātaliputra, Plate II., in my *Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra, 1903*.

<sup>2</sup> M.V.M., 55.

<sup>3</sup> D.H.M., 280.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 180.

tion to the Pāli I have added their Tibetan translations as an alternative key to the traditional etymology :

- (N.) *Vaiśravāna* (Pāli, *Vessavāna*; Tib., Rnam-to's-sras)  
= "Son of the Renowned *Visravas*" [Regent of Kuhera or Rudra].
- (E.) *Dhṛitarāshṭra* (P., *Dhatarattha*; T., Yul'-ko'r-srung) = "Cherisher of the Countries" [Regent of Indra].
- (S.) *Virūḍhaka* (P., *Virulha*; T., 'Pags-skyes-po) = "The Exalted Birth" [Regent of Yama].
- (W.) *Virūpāksha* (P., *Virūpakka*; T., Spyan-mi-hzang) = "Deformed Eyes" [Regent of Varuna].

Here it will be observed that the Buddhists in their scheme of the universe have viewed the *Lokapāla* from a different standpoint to the Brahmins. They have reduced the number to those for the four cardinal points,<sup>1</sup> and diversively the three great gods of their guardianship have transferred the duty to subordinate regents more of the type of the genii god, Kubera, who also is given a new name, to wit, his patronymic of "*Visrava's son*," little used by the Brahmins; moreover, the order was latterly changed so that the demi-god Kubera, instead of Indra's regent, heads the list.

#### ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHIST GUARDIAN GODS.

The Buddhist version of the origin of these Guardian Kings, as found in the *Jātakas*,<sup>2</sup> starts after the late Vedic anthropomorphic stage, and after Indra and the other great gods had been collected together and set upon the top of the Olympian Mt. Meru. It states that Sakra (as Indra is usually called by the Buddhists), in order to guard the heavens as well as the world against the attacks of the *Asura* giants and the outer demons, set as guards the following classes of spirits: "Nāgas, Garujas (i.e. in

<sup>1</sup> Though in the Rig-Veda the four quarters are stated to represent the whole earth. M.V.M., 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Jātaka*, 31.

Sanskrit *Garudas*), Kumbhandas, Yakkas, and the [-ir] Four Great Kings.<sup>1</sup>

The location of these guardians was above the rest of the world, on the sides of Mt. Meru, with the four kings near the top at the gates of Sakra's heaven, to which paradise they had free access.<sup>2</sup>

"Our highest thoughts can not conceive the imperial pomp round  
Sakka's throne,

Or the Four Regents in his court, each in his own appointed zone."<sup>3</sup>

The Kings themselves are always regarded as gods and never as demons, except so far as I have found on the occasion when one of them was converted by Buddha. They are all ardent defenders of Buddhism, and are assigned active ethical functions on the earth. They record in books for the information of Sakra the religious deeds done by men,<sup>4</sup> and they seem to be the agency by which the throne of that divinity "grew warm" whenever his aid was specially required by the virtuous in distress, as related in the *Jātakas*. They each preach the virtue for which their own retinue is conspicuously deficient.

"The Nāga king preaches forbearance, Garuja gentleness, the king of the Gandhabbas abstention from carnal lust, and the most noble king of the Kurus [= Kubera?] freedom from all hindrances to religious perfections."<sup>5</sup>

They are also the judges in heaven, settling disputes amongst the "sons of the gods" (i.e., angels),<sup>6</sup> as well as of their own retinue. They are married, and have sons and daughters—each has twenty-eight ministers and ninety-one

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, 31; J.C., i. 81. Here the classes of spirits are neither in strict keeping either with those found within the *Jātaka* book itself, or in the Canon or Bharhut sculptures, which are the most authentic of all. It obviously places the Kumbhandas in the east and the *Garudas* in the south, whereas the former should be in the south and the latter in the west, according to the evidence of the Canons generally.

<sup>2</sup> *Jātakat*, *passim*; H.M.B., 52; B.C.B., 71-73; W.B.T., 83-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, 543; J.C., vi. 91.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.B., 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātaka*, 545; J.C., vi. 129.

<sup>6</sup> *Jātaka*, 545; J.C., vi. 133.

sons all bearing the title of "King."<sup>1</sup> Their retinue ranges from the celestial spirits, the Gandharvas and the higher Yakshas, down to lower grades of Khumbhandas, Yakshas, and Nāgas, who are frankly demons.

Who, then, are these "Four Great Kings," entitled like the Brahmanist group "World Guardians" (*Lokapāla*), yet performing considerably different functions, and exhibiting different names and forms? Their earliest images supply the answer, which is not to be found recorded in any of the texts.

#### THEIR EARLY IMAGES IN THE BHARHUT SCULPTURES.

The earliest known images of these "Great Kings" are those of the Buddhist series. They form part of the rich gallery of ancient sculptures which adorned the Bharhut, Bhilsa and Sānchi *stūpas*, the great relic-monuments in Central India, for the most part discovered and explored by General Cunningham. The sculptures date from the second to the first century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and display the "Great Kings" standing in the projecting gateways. A cast of one of the great gateways, the eastern, from the Sānchi *stūpa*, dating to about the end of the first century B.C. and containing life-sized images of one of these *Lokapālas*, is in the Indian section of the Science and Art Museum at South Kensington, and will be examined presently.

<sup>1</sup> B.C.B., 73.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription on the Bharhut (or more properly *Bharaut*) *stūpa* registers the fact that the great ornamental *torana* or arched gateways were caused to be made, and the masonry effectively completed by *Vachasuta Dhanabhuti* of the Sunga dynasty (Cunningham, *Stūpas Bharhut*, Plate xii, p. 128, etc.; *Indian Antiquary*, 14, 138; 21, 227); which the Pauranic lists place next after the Maurya dynasty of Asoka. Hence these sculptures may be certainly dated between the second and first centuries B.C.—at the latest to the beginning of the first century B.C. General Cunningham's final date was "about 150 B.C." (Anderson's *Catalogue India Museum*, i, 6), which is generally accepted. Cf. also Fleet, *Epigraphy, Imp. Govt. India*, 1908, ii, 46. Most of these invaluable inscribed sculptures of Bharhut were removed for safety to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they now stand as a picture gallery of Vedic and proto-Buddhist mythology.

The art displayed, although found upon Early Buddhist monuments, is manifestly a reproduction of the pre-existing Brahmanist type, with its symbolism altered to suit the requirements of Buddhism which obviously had not yet evolved a distinctive school of its own. The high degree of technical skill displayed, and the fixed conventionalism of the style, indicate that image-carving in wood must have preceded the less perishable records on stone by several centuries before the commencement of the Buddhist period. Of these sculptures the Bharhut series are the most important for our research, because the images are fortunately labelled with their names and titles. By means of these inscriptions General Cunningham was able at once to identify two out of the four guardians, and by the same means I have just discovered the other two, which have up till now been supposed to be missing.

#### THEIR ATLAS-SUPPORTERS AT BHARHUT PRESUMABLY "NAGAS."

Now these Guardian Kings are found in the Bharhut sculptures to be mounted *not* upon elephants, except in one instance, but upon Atlas-like crouching demons and *Nāga*-serpent spirits in human or triton-like shapes.

This fact struck me as possibly supplying a clue to the remarkable statement of the Brahmins that their *Lokapāla* were mounted upon "elephants," which animals afterwards assumed the direct guardianship.<sup>1</sup> For one of the old epithets for an "elephant" is "*Nāga*," which is also the ordinary name for the serpent-spirits of the aboriginal pre-Aryan cult who were capable of assuming human shape, and many of whom were regarded as powerful "Kings," the title which was now applied to the regents of the *Lokapāla* by the Buddhists. Could it be that the "elephant" vehicle was possibly a mistaken translation by the later Brahmins of the word "*Nāga*," and that the transporters of the guardian gods were not elephants, but

*Nāga* demigods? This view is supported by the names of these "elephant" vehicles, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, which for the most part are those of well-known *Nāga*-spirit kings.<sup>1</sup>

The *Nāga*-serpent cult, a form of Nature-worship appropriate to India as the home of the most deadly serpents, is nowhere to be traced in the Early or Rig Vedic Age.<sup>2</sup> *Nāgas* do not appear in Brahmanical tradition until about 500 B.C.,—that is, not until after the Aryaos had for long settled in India and subjected the native tribes; and the Brahmins, in order to consolidate their power, had begun to incorporate the aboriginal cults into their own mythology. In Buddha's day the leading cults were those of the *Nāga* and *Yaksha* genii, as is evident from the innumerable references to these supernatural beings throughout the early Buddhist texts, and the early sculptures mainly devoted to them, as first shown by Fergusson.<sup>3</sup> The *Nāgas* are represented as formidable serpent-spirits capable of assuming the most beautiful human and other shapes, and living especially in water, or in the earth as guardians of hidden treasure, or in the rain-clouds. They were of a local or regional character, capable of transporting themselves instantly over their region; and many of the *Nāga* kings referred to in the Canon as having visited Buddha are believed to have been terrestrial kings of the aborigines, some of whom in the hills are still, along with their people, at the present day known as "*Nāgas*."

In this view the prototype of those Atlas-like supporters of the various guardian gods in the Bharhut sculptures might be *Nāga*-serpent spirits of the aborigines which the Brahmins had utilized as transporters of the Aryan gods, who thus concretely symbolized their religious

<sup>1</sup> See my *Trilingual List of Nāga-rajus* from a manuscript copy of the *Mahāyūpatti* in J.R.A.S., 1894, 91-102. Also *Mahāyūpatti*, St. Petersburg edition, and Höttale, H.B.M., 231.

<sup>2</sup> Macdonell believes that the serpent *Ahi* referred to in the Vedas has no connection with *Nāgas*, M.V.M., 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Trees and Serpent Worship*.

domination over the native cult, and politically over the earthly *Nāga* kings. This view gains support from the Brahmanical names of the "elephants," which are generally well-known *Nāga* kings; and, what is more important to our inquiry, they throw light on the origin and source of the personal names wholly distinct from the Brahmanist which have been applied to the three out of the four Buddhist guardians.

*DHRITARĀSHTRA*, the Guardian of the East. The "elephant" of Indra, the Brahmanist Guardian of the East, is called *Airavata*, and is usually figured as an elephant; but in the *Mahābhārata* epic of the Brahmans it is called "The Fighting Nāga" (*Nīga-malla*). So, too, there is also the great serpent king of this name (*Airavata*), known in the ancient vernacular as *Elapatra* and *Erapatra*,<sup>1</sup> and mentioned in the Buddhist Canon as having been overcome by Buddha. It also is supposed to give its name to the great eastern river of Mid-India, the "Aīrvatī" or Rapti, as also to the "Irawadi," a name which the Burmese transplanted into their country in pious memory of the great river of the Śākyas. On the side of the Buddhist name I find that the great Nāga of Eastern India is called in the *Jātakas* "*Dhritarāshtra*,"<sup>2</sup> .

"Beneath the Yamunā's sacred stream, stretching to far Himalaya's feet,  
Lies deep the Nāga capital, where Dhṛitarāshtra holds his seat,"<sup>3</sup>

and he is there stated to have "invested" Benares city (Kāsi).<sup>4</sup> His relationship to Indra appears to be suggested by his colour: he had "a white body and white hoods."<sup>5</sup> And it is expressly stated in another *Jātaka*<sup>6</sup> that he went to the heaven of Sakra (i.e., Indra) as a result of pious deeds.<sup>7</sup> This seems the probable mythological origin of the "King of the Golden Geese," named *Dhritarāshtra*, who lived at the gates of Indra's heaven, and from whom, as we will see, the Buddhist Guardian of the East appears to me to have derived his name.

*VIRUDHAKA*, the Guardian of the South. I have not found a Nāga of this name in the lists;<sup>8</sup> but Yama's "elephant" in the south is called *Mghāpadma*, which is the title of a known Nāga king.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere<sup>10</sup> it is

<sup>1</sup> H.B.M., 233, for learned note.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* a Nāga king of this name is also mentioned as a *Nāgarāja* of the lower region, ". . . an enormous serpent of many heads and immense strength" (D.H.M., 91); also in Chinese Buddhist Sutra *Vardha Varsha* (Morris, Academy, 1891, 179; and Hearn, H.B.M., 231).

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, 543; J.C., vi. 107.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka*, 543; J.C., vi. 85.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātaka*, 544; J.C., vi. 125.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1, p. 134; S.B.E., 49 (1), 17. <sup>7</sup> D.H.M., 180.

<sup>8</sup> *Jātaka*, vi. 85.

<sup>9</sup> See note 1, p. 134.

called *Vīmana*, or the dwarf, which is more suggestive of a *Nāga* than an elephant. *Viradhaba*, we shall see, is a title of Yama himself, and a *Nāga* of the name of "Yama" is recorded, though he is not styled a "king."<sup>1</sup> In the Tibetan paintings this regent is figured with an elephant's head and proboscis on his cap as a raised mask.<sup>2</sup> This probably refers to a *Nāga* nature (serpent or elephant [?]), or is a confusion with Ganesa, the elephant-headed god who bears a title of the regent of the south—namely, *Vīnayaka*; but a buffalo, and not an elephant, is allotted to Yama in Hindu mythology.

*VIRUPĀKSHA*, the Guardian of the West. This is the name of the supreme king of the *Nāgas* amongst all sections of Buddhists;<sup>3</sup> he is mentioned as such in the Canon and *ślokas*, although omitted from the later lists of *Nāgas* for the reasons which the Bharhot sculptures, as we will see, explain.

The title of "King" applied by the Buddhists to these regent guardian spirits—namely, "The Four Great Kings"—also suggest that more than one of the three additional to Kubera, the *Yaksha* King, were probably *Nāga* kings. For "King" is an altogether unusual term to apply to the gods, and connotes the position of these supernatural beings as the heads of the troops of beneficent spirits, or of demons of an aboriginal nature, the majority of which were *Yakshas* and *Nāgas*. As a fact, we have seen that the Eastern regent obviously arose as a great *Nāga* serpent King, that the Western is also a King of the *Nāgas*, and that the original term for the vehicles (*vāhana*) of all the Brahmanist guardians was presumably *Nāga*, which was at first used with poetic licence in a double sense, but latterly interpreted by the Brahmans solely as "elephant," when the original meaning had become forgotten.

Much additional light is thrown upon the manner in which these guardians were created and named by my discovery of the "missing" regents in the Bharhot sculptures, which at the same time has yielded results of great importance for the history of Buddhism.

<sup>1</sup> My Trilingual List of *Nagarajas*, J.R.A.S., 1894, 98, No. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. in my *Buddhism of Tibet*, 330; and Grünwedel, G.B.B.A., 138.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, 84, 289.

DISCOVERY OF THE "MISSING" TWO REGENTS OF THE QUARTERS AT BHARHUT, AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM.

My discovery, now reported, of the "missing" two inscribed images of the *Lokapāla* in the Bharhut Series, throws important light upon the early history of Buddhism. It discloses, by means of the earliest authentic contemporary record on the subject as yet forthcoming, the profound theistic development which had already taken place within Buddhism—about 100 B.C.—in the direction of the Mahāyāna form of that faith; and, on the other hand, its evidence tends to postpone the date of the Pāli Canon redaction to the first century A.D., or later, and the *Jātakas* to a still later date, and considerably later even than was suggested by Minayeff from his impressions of the Bharhut inscriptions generally, and of the other two Regents—the only known ones of that time.<sup>1</sup>

Two out of the four Regents of the Quarters were at once identified by General Sir A. Cunningham, by means of their inscribed titles in the ancient dialect, and the locations in which he found them. They were *Kupiro Yakho*—i.e., Kubera Yaksha in the Sanskrit form of the name—at the northern gate, and *Virodaka Yakho*—i.e., Virūdhaka Yaksha, at the southern gate. But at the western gate, which was intact, the image there labelled "*Suchilomo Yakho*"—i.e., Suchiloma Yaksha<sup>2</sup> could not be identified by General Cunningham or anyone else, with the Western Lokapāla, whilst the eastern gate and its figures were altogether missing, thus leading the General to conclude that the image of that guardian had been lost.<sup>3</sup>

I am glad to announce that I have found the inscribed images of the two missing *Lokapāla* to be present in their

<sup>1</sup> See p. 107, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.B., 20, liv. 60. In Hultzsch's reinventory, No. 74 in I. A. 1892,

<sup>3</sup> 233.

<sup>1</sup> C.S.B., 20.

proper situations in the Bharhut *Stūpa*, thus completing the full group of the Guardian Kings in that unique series of valuable illustrated ancient documents.

This find, in addition to the historically important criteria above indicated, has enabled me to trace several additional links in the origin and development of these great Kings. It also discloses the advanced stage which symbolism had reached—about 100 B.C.—and the ingenious and elaborate process by which not only the Buddhist monks, but also the Brahmans were manipulating and evolving their pantheon from the time of Buddha onwards to the early centuries of our era.

The position of their images at Bharhut shows that the great relic-*stūpa* there had manifestly been entrusted to the guardianship of these four gods, just as at the present day are all important shrines in Buddhist countries generally. Their images at Bharhut are sculptured on the pillars of the great arched outer gates leading through the massive stone railing into the inner court, where stands the relic-holding *stūpa*, and are, I find, restricted to two of the four gates—namely, the north and south gates. At the north gate is the image of *Kubera* with two attendants, and at the south gate that of *Virūdhaka* with two other figures, as noted by General Cunningham. They are carved upon the middle face of a projecting pillar within those two gates, the other two faces of the pillars each carrying another image.

The "missing" images of the remaining two Guardian Kings I find at the south gate upon the same pillar as *Virūdhaka*, but each facing his own special direction. Thus *Virūdhaka* faces south, and the eastern and western Kings face east and west respectively. Such a restriction to two gateways occurs at the present day where there are two gates to the shrine, and where there is only one gate, which is the rule, the images of all four Guardians are placed at that gate, two on either side (see my *Buddhism of Tibet* p. 80, etc.). The inference from this clustering of three at

the south gate and only one at the north is that the east and west gates were not used by pilgrims, and that the south was the principal entrance. This is confirmed by the topography of the site in relation to the road and the streamlet; also by the fact that a miniature of the *Stupa* itself is carved solely upon the pillar at that entrance facing the south, and nowhere else.

This unexpected position for the two "Great Kings," hitherto considered to be missing at Bharhut, is doubtless one reason why they have not up till now been identified. But the chief reason, no doubt, is the unusual titles inscribed upon them. The one facing the east—i.e., to the left of *Virūdhaka*, and representing the "King of the *Gandharvas*, latterly known as *Dhritarāshtra*—bears the inscription, "*Ganigita Yakho*," or "The Singing *Gandharva* Yaksha," manifestly a descriptive title of that King (see Plate, Fig. 1); whilst the other facing the west, and representing the modern *Virūpāksha*, King of the *Nāgas*, bears the legend "*Chakravāko Nāga-rāja*," or "*Chaka-vāka*, King of the *Nāgas*."

The identification of these two images with those of the missing two Kings in question has been established by me in detail in a separate article,<sup>1</sup> dealing with the epigraphic and linguistic evidence and the important issues arising therefrom. This identification, based upon the titles inscribed upon the two images, is indisputably confirmed by the position occupied by both images, and the ascertained absence at the western gate, where the building was intact, of the great King of the *Nāgas*. His presence at the main gate, which is the customary place for all the four Regents, and his position there facing his proper directional quarter, coupled with the presence in an exactly symmetrical position on the other side, the eastern, of that King, who by his inscription is admittedly the Guardian of the East—all these agreements mutually confirm each other, and appear to render my identification absolute.

<sup>1</sup> Sent to the J.R.A.S., November, 1913.

The archaic titles borne by these two newly identified Guardian Kings have led me to the following important conclusions:<sup>1</sup>

(a) "The titles and attributes borne by this series of gods in the Bharhut sculptures show that these gods were still in a transition stage in the first century B.C., and had not yet reached that development they have attained in the Pāli canon and Jātaka book, thus betraying for these texts a considerably later date—presumably to within the Christian era."

(b) "The Regents of the West and East both bear titles of Buddha in his former births, as repeatedly ascribed to him in different Jātakas, and identify Buddha with the Sun-bird of Aryan and Iranian myth. He is personified as 'The Golden Bird' of Dawn (*Dhritarāshtra*, the King of the Golden Geese at the gates of Indra's heaven, in the East), and 'The Ruddy Goose'<sup>2</sup> (*Chakavāka*), the Setting Sun, as that luminary (the Wheel [*chakra*]) and rolls on *Westwards* in its course through the Universe."

(c) "The Sun-myth theory, which was formerly thrust upon Buddha and some other human luminaries of the world by the poetic fancy of Western writers, but afterwards abandoned when it was discredited by records proving the historical character of Sākyamuni, is now brought back on an entirely different basis—namely, the positive records of the early Buddhists themselves."

(d) "These Bharhut inscribed sculptures disclose that in the second century B.C. Indian Buddhism apparently had already deified in the West a solar reflex of the historical Buddha, and thus already possessed within

<sup>1</sup> From my article to J.R.A.S.; see p. 36, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The "Brahmany" Goose or Ruddy Sheldrake (*Casarca rutila*), the "Chakva" of Indians, which is esteemed a sacred bird, not only in India but in Burma, Tibet, China, and Mongolia, its colour resembling the hue of the Buddhist monks' robes.

itself the theistic idea, which was supposed to have been imported into it at a later date by the Sun-worshipping Indo-Scythians, as a basis for its creation of the Primordial Buddha, or Sun-god, *Amitābha*, 'The Buddha of Boundless Light'<sup>1</sup> and his Western Paradise (*Sukhāvatī*)."<sup>2</sup>

The rich symbolism displayed at Bharhut extends to the group of Regents which exhibits a highly developed symbolism manifestly of long fixed conventional type, and important, although hitherto unnoticed.

Physically "The Four Great Kings" are figured at Bharhut<sup>3</sup> as handsome and dignified men of about life-size, dressed as Kings and standing with hands raised and resting on the breast in an attitude of respectful adoration.

This attitude is actually described in the canon in narrating the visits paid by the Four Kings and the Yakshas to Buddha at the Vultures Peak cave at Rajgir, on the occasion of their announcing their *paritta* spell, so much valued by Burmese and Ceylonese Buddhists. "Some of the *Yakas* worshipped him and sat down . . . others merely bowed themselves with elevated hands and sat down."<sup>4</sup>

"GĀNGĪTA YAKHO," "The Singing Gandharva Yaksha," facing the East (see Plate, Fig. 1).—The symbols and attributes displayed by his image<sup>5</sup> confirms his identity as the Guardian King of the East. He is figured as a handsome youth, a special feature of the *Gandharvas*, who are noted for their beauty and "attractiveness to women," and is dressed as a king, with his right upper arm encircled by a bracelet ornamented with hooded cobra beads (whence possibly his origin as the *Nāga Dhritarāshtra* may have been invented or indicated). He stands upon an elephant (*Airavata*, the serpent-elephant), the special carriage of Indra, for whom *Gangita* is regent. At his side is a tree with leaves like the *Banyan*.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, 12, 127, 217, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For detailed proofs see my article in J.R.A.S., 1922.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.B., Plates xxi, xxii.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.B., 46.

<sup>5</sup> C.S.B., Plate xxi.

fig, and the tree under which the gods abide in the Vedas is "a fig-tree."<sup>1</sup> Similarly at Sānchi I find that the Eastern Guardian King is figured<sup>2</sup> standing with a tree on each side of him—one of these seems a Banyan fig, and the other appears to me to be the same as here figured at Bharhut on the cornice above *Gangīta*. It is a very good representation of what seems to me to be the Indian "Coral-Tree" (*Erythrina indica*), the especial flowering tree of Indra's paradise;<sup>3</sup> and this further confirms my identification of *Gangīta*. The half sunflower in the centre of the base of the medallion may symbolize the bow of the rising Sun and its arrows (rays), with which Indra, his lord, was especially associated; and we will see that the later images of this regent carry a bow and arrow to symbolize Indra. The two trees here displayed by this regent are rendered more conspicuous a century or so later at Sānchi.

"VIRODAKA YAKHO," "*King Virūdhaka*," facing the South.—He faces his proper quarter, the south, as Regent of Yama, "The Lord of the South" (*Dakshināsa-pati*). His photograph<sup>4</sup> shows him in profile at the side of *Gangīta* (Fig. 1) as a handsome youth dressed as a king, also wearing a cobra armlet on his right arm. He stands upon rocks, probably the *Trikuta* rocks of his master Yama, and to indicate the *earthy* nature of the latter's abode.<sup>5</sup> The cornice over his head is not a medallion, as in the others, but a much larger design, covering the entire face of the upper part of the pillar and depicting the relic-stūpa itself, as this was manifestly the main entrance.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ajur Veda*, M.V.M., 167.

<sup>2</sup> G.B.B.A., 36.

<sup>3</sup> The trees of Indra's paradise are described as five: *Mandara* (= the Indian "Coral Tree," *Erythrina indica*, Roxburgh's *Flora Ind.*, 541), *Parijataka*, *Santana* (= Santal wood [?]), *Kalpa vrksa* (= "The Wish-Tree"), and *Hari chandana* (= Red Sandal [?]). Cf. my *Buddhism of Tibet*, 87, 88.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.B., Plate xxi.

<sup>5</sup> The photograph, being only in profile, does not show the base clearly, but suggests there may be *Nāgas* peeping out of the rocks, as in that of Chakrenātha.

<sup>6</sup> It is less likely to represent Death, Yama being the God of Death.

"CHAKAVĀKO NĀOA-RĀJA," "*The Ruddy Goose, the King of the Nāgas*," facing the West. This, as I have shown in detail,<sup>1</sup> manifestly represents Buddha as the Sun-bird of Aryan myth. He is represented<sup>2</sup> as a handsome middle-aged man dressed as a king, and wearing a turban formed of five hooded cobras, the tails of which are artistically disposed amongst the coils ; he has also a cobra armlet, like all the others. He stands upon a rock in water amongst lotus flowers. From holes in the rock, one under each post, peep out the human head of a Nāga serpent-spirit. In front of his feet, amongst the lotuses in the water, one or more birds seem to be disporting themselves, probably hunting for Nāgas in this case. The largest bird on his left has its wings erect, and its feathers are well marked ; it has the general proportions of the Ruddy or Brahmany Goose.<sup>3</sup> In this cornice the half medallion displays lotus flowers (? red), probably to indicate his watery nature as Regent of Varuna, the God of the Western Waters (the Ocean). In the centre of his medallion is a small semicircle with long issuing rays, the median pair of which give off secondary branchlets, and thus a forked leaf-like form ; but possibly it depicts the streaks of light from the Setting Sun in the West.

"KUPIRO YAKHO," "*Kubera Yaksha*," facing the North.—He is portrayed<sup>4</sup> as a well-formed man draped as a king, like the others, and wearing also like them an armlet ornamented with three hooded cobra-heads. He stands upon the back and shoulders of a muscular crouching demon with impish ears, doubtless one of the man-eating species of the *Yaksha* genii. The brawny appearance of this Atlas-like demon well suggests the conception of Physical Energy personified. His symbol on the cornice above him is a many-rayed flower of an expanded lotus or artemis form. It is possibly the fabulous thousand-petalled flower of Kubera's garden, which Bhima (according to the *Mahābhā-*

<sup>1</sup> See article in J.R.A.S., 1912, above noted.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.B., Plate xxi, Fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> See profile of Fig. 2 from C.S.B., Plate xxi, Fig. 1.

rata); obtained in Kubera's paradise, "the perfume of which makes the old young and the sorrowing joyful."

### PROTOTYPE AND ORIGIN OF HĀRITI, "THE BUDDHIST MADONNA."

On the left of Kubera stands a commanding female figure displaying her exuberant charms according to Indian ideals of female beauty (see Fig. 2). It is labelled "*Chandā Yakshi*,"<sup>1</sup> which restores to "*Chandā Yakshi* in Sanskrit."<sup>2</sup> By the horse-headed Atlas-animal on which she stands she appears to me to be a *Kinnara*, and probably the queen of that class of celestial musicians specially associated with the paradise of Kubera, the God of Riches, and from her position here by the side of Kubera she might be considered to be the queen-consort of the latter.

I would identify her with the *Chandā Kinnara* of the *Jātakas*. *Chandā Kinnara* in the *Jātaka* of that name (No. 485) was the wife of the Bodhisat himself, and a frieze illustrating this *Jātaka* and inscribed with its title forms one of the sculptures of the *stūpa*.<sup>3</sup> In another *Jātaka*, No. 358, *Chandā* is the mother, and not the wife, of the Bodhisattva, and there is nothing in the narrative to indicate that she was a *Kinnara*; but in the early Buddhist stone-railing which I unearthed at Asoka's capital there is figured (Plate I. of my *Report on Pātaliputra*), in one of the medallions a horse-headed *Kinnara* woman carrying a child beside a man with an uplifted weapon, suggesting this *Jātaka* and assigning to her the form of a *Kinnara*.

*Chandā* at Bharhut (see Fig. 2) stands somewhat in the attitude of Buddha's mother in his birth-scene at the Lumbini grove with her right hand uplifted and grasping the branch of a flowering tree overhead. But this tree, from its careful portrait in the sculpture, is clearly neither a

<sup>1</sup> C.S.B., Plate xxii, Inscription iv. 81; No. 91 of Hultzsch, I.A. 1892, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, C.S.B., 138, and Hultzsch, see previous note, restore it to *Chandra* and *Chandrā* respectively.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.B., Plate xxiii, Inscription liii. 12, and Hultzsch, No. 12.

*Sāl* nor an *Asoka* tree (*Jonesia asoka*), which different accounts state was the tree under which Buddha was born. It has ovate acuminate leaves and five-petalled flowers like the *Citrus acid*a or *C. medica*, the latter of which is called "Bijura."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Chandā holds in her left hand, between her forefinger and thumb, a small object like an ear of rice corn (see Fig. 2).

Now Kubera, as the "God of Riches," *Vasupati*, has his capital at *Vasudhārā*, or "Holder of Wealth," which is also a title of his Queen in several of her modes in later Buddhism, with the variants *Vasundharā* and *Vasudharā*. One of these modes, as recorded in Tibet, not only seems to describe this image of Chandā as the queen of Kubera, but also to identify her with *Hāritī*, the so-called "Madonna of Buddhism," whose coojugal relationship with Kubera has not, up till now, been found indicated in any of the known texts.

In my manuscript, "Descriptive List of Indian Buddhist Divinities from Tibetan Sources" (already mentioned, p. 115), No. 187 describes the following mode of this goddess:

"The Keeper of Prosperity, *Vasundharā*<sup>2</sup> (=the Sanskrit form of Sri Rākṣā *Vasudharā*). She is yellow in colour, and is proud looking. The right hand holds a 'Bi-ju-ra' (*Citrus medica*) fruit, and the left a precious ear of corn. Her feet are adorned by a vase of hidden treasure. She stands amidst a shower of jewels, and has behind her a Bodhi tree. She is encircled by troops of children (?) in playful love."<sup>3</sup>

This well describes the leading features both of *Chandā*'s image, and at the same time those of *Hāritī*, the Madonna,

<sup>1</sup> Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, 589, 590.

<sup>2</sup> Tibetan: gyang-rdsi-t-nor-rgyun-ma.

<sup>3</sup> 'Dod-jot-ba-moi-k'yus bskor-ba. The ordinary reading of this is "encircled by troops (of herds) of cows of Desire-granting cows." The latter are the miraculous *Kāmadhenu*s of Indra's sensuous heaven, who are chiefly associated in Hindu myth with the procreation of a host of warriors (who aided Vaishisthi against Kārtṛa Virya). But the presence of the redundant *da-mo* and the known prolificness of *Hāritī*, suggests that the Tibetan copyist may have omitted a *u* from the third element, writing *ba-mo* instead of *bu-fo*, and thus permitting the above rendering. In any case the productiveness of *Hāritī* is conveyed.

as she is represented in classic form, with troops of her children, in the Gandhāra sculptures (see Fig. 5). Moreover, the next following deity in my Tibetan manuscript expressly calls *Vasundharā* by the name of *Hārītī*:

No. 188. "The heart-ravishing *Vasundharā* (=in Sanskrit *Hārītī* *Vasundharā*).<sup>1</sup> She is red, and adorned with silks and jewels, and has a countenance glowing with dazzling light. She holds an iron hook and *Nakula*,<sup>2</sup> and sits in the royal *līla* pose (*i.e.*, with one foot raised on a footstool)."<sup>3</sup>

Here *Hārītī* displays the especial emblems of Kubera, the hooked iron and *Nakula*, which seem to characterize her as his consort. From another source I find Kubera's favourite son was her child *Nakula*. The epic of Buddha's Life in its Chinese version likens the infant Buddha to *Nakula*:

"So *Vaisravana* (*i.e.*, Kubera), the heavenly king, when *Na-la* *Kīrī-po* (*i.e.*, the Chinese transcription of *Nakula Kubera*) was born, surrounded by a concourse of gods, was filled with joy and gladness."<sup>4</sup>

*Nakula* thus appears to me to have originally had the meaning of "The Precious One [Jewel] of the Family" (Sanskrit, *Na*=jewel + *kula*, family). And another reference in the *Lalita Vistara* seems to credit *Hārītī* with being the mother of Kubera's sons.<sup>5</sup>

*Hārītī*, whilst thus identified as Kubera's queen, is at the same time clearly identified with the goddess *Chandā* at Bharhut. That image satisfies the essential part of the description of the *Sri Raksha* ("Keeper of Prosperity") form of *Hārītī* in that she holds with her "right hand [the tree of] a 'Bijura' fruit, and the left a precious ear of corn."

Thus it seems to me evident that *Chandā*, "The Shining One," was manifestly the pre-Aryan "Goddess of Fertility

<sup>1</sup> Tib.: Yid-'prog nor-rgyan-ma.

<sup>2</sup> Tib.: Ne-a-le = "Nakula" in Sanskrit.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, S.B.E., v9: 20. Beal restores this word to *Na-la Kīrīra*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Lalita Vistara*, which frequently expands the numbers, says in describing "the Great Renunciation," chap. xv.: "Afterwards, O monks, the 28 generals of the army of the Yakshas, and the 500 sons of *Hārītī* (*prog-ma*), preceded by the 5 chief commanders of the army of the Yakshas, having assembled, thus spake." Cf. L.V.F., 194.

of the Earth." Her title also denotes the *Moon*, associating her with the months and seasons of growth, which is significant. It was doubtless because of her great popularity that Buddha or his early disciples seized upon her as a former incarnation of his wife, and of his own mother, in the *Jātaka* tales of his supposed previous births.

Her transition from "The Shining Goddess (*Chandā*) or *Fertile Mother Earth*," symbolized by the corn ("The precious thing of the [Indian] Family") she holds in her hand at Bharhut in the second century B.C., to the developed classic type of "The Mind-Captivating (*Hārīti*), the Maternal, the Madonna, symbolized by her own fruit ("The Precious One of the Family," *Nakula*), whom she holds in her hand in the Grecian sculptures of Gandhāra in the 1st to 4th century A.D.; and *Nakula* the godling becoming in later times the animal *Nakula*, or the "mongoose," forms a most fascinating chapter in mythology. Another name for Hārīti's favourite son is *Pingala*, or "The Yellow One," a term which seems to me descriptive of the golden ear of yellow corn she holds at Bharhut, and thus a synonym of *Nakula*. The Grecian artists in representing her as sharing the throne of Kubera (see Fig. 5) obviously identified the pair as Zeus and Hera, whose union symbolized fertility of the Earth.

#### HOW HĀRĪTI, THE MADONNA, BECAME A SHE-DEVIL.

Neither has anyone explained the paradox that Hārīti, the Madonna, is also regarded as a she-devil, stealing and devouring children. I find the Tibetan translation of her name supplies the clue to this transformation. Hārīti is translated into Tibetan as '*Prog ma*'<sup>1</sup> and *Yid-'prog ma*',<sup>2</sup> meaning respectively "the captivating" and the "heart-captivating," thus showing that the traditional Indian etymology in the eighth century A.D., when the Sanskrit Scriptures were translated into Tibetan, derived Hārīti

<sup>1</sup> *Lalita Vistara*, chap. xv. Cf. L.V.F., 194.

<sup>2</sup> My MS. Tibetan List, M.B.D., 188.

from the Sanskrit *Hāri*, captivating, taking, handsome, charming, a pearl (of a woman), from the root *Ha*, "to captivate."<sup>1</sup> This was her character at Bharhut in the second century B.C., and it was still her character in the Gandhāra art school in the first to fourth century A.D., where she was represented as a Madonna of classic beauty revelling in children.<sup>2</sup>

When *Kubera* latterly was degraded by the Brahmins to the rank of a demon, and made lord over the *Rakshas* (demons) as well as the *Yakshas*, his consort, *Hāriti*, obviously shared a like fate. Her title, *Sri-Rakṣa*, presumably was interpreted as associating her with the *Raksha*-demons. So her title *Hāriti* was manifestly read according to the secondary meaning of the root *Ha*, "to take"—namely, "to take by force," "to steal," and hence *Hāriti* as "The Stealer," or "Harrier." As she was especially associated with children in her functions she thus became the notorious "Stealer of Children," who was converted by Buddha by means of a special miracle.

This famous story (see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 99) is found in the Canon of both schools, and therefore must have been current in the first century of our era, though it did not prevent the Grecian artists nor the Chinese and Japanese from conceiving her in her earlier character of the Madonna, though the Japanese restrict her maternal character mainly to *Benten*, and represent a mode of *Hāriti* as devouring her offspring.

#### PROTOTYPE OF MAHĀKĀLA, THE "DAIKOKO" OF THE JAPANESE, THE GOOD WIND GENIUS.

The third member of the triad at the north gate at Bharhut seems also to be of importance for the history of Buddhist as well as Brahmanist mythology. The image standing on the right side of Kubera is labelled "Ajakālako.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, 993.

<sup>2</sup> Senart, *J. Asiatique* (8), 15, 141; Burgess, *Journ. Ind. Art*, viii., Plate iii.; G.B.B.A., 104; *India Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1906-7.

*Yakho*,<sup>1</sup> which corresponds to the Sanskrit "Aja-Kālaka Yaksha."

Now, this name means literally "The Goat of Darkness";<sup>2</sup> and seems to connect the genius of Good Fortune, "the great Kāla," or "Darkness" (*Mahākāla*) with the Vedic Storm-god *Aja-ekapāda*. "The One-footed Goat," one of the Rudras, and the later Wind-god, whose symbol is the Goat, both of which divinities are placed in this region under the Storm-god Rudra, for whom Kubera is regent. The "One-footed Goat" is conjectured by Macdonell to be a figurative designation of lightning, in allusion to its agile swiftness over the cloud-mountains, and the one foot of the single streak which strikes the earth.<sup>3</sup>

Although this aggressive character is foreign to the present-day conception of *Mahākāla*, the portly, good-natured genius of Good Fortune, it is in keeping with that of Rudra himself, who had the dual character of being, at the same time, the most powerful and "the most bountiful."<sup>4</sup> And this is the early character assigned to *Mahākāla* (Dai-Koko) in Japanese history, where the god is a great favourite.

"He belongs to the great heaven, and guards the three treasures. He can confer all things that men desire, and is the "God of War." He belongs to the point of the compass entitled the Rat [=Nakula?]-i.e., the North."<sup>5</sup>

Of *Aja-Kālaka's* image, unfortunately, no photograph was published by General Cunningham, so I cannot describe his appearance and symbolism at Bharbut. Nevertheless his identity with *Mahākāla* is suggested by other evidence than his name and the warlike character ascribed to him in the earlier records above quoted. His later conception is that of a Good-Wind genius, who blows good to

<sup>1</sup> C.S.B., iv., 88; Hultzsch, *Lc.*, No. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Aja* also means "unborn," and is thus an epithet of several gods.

<sup>3</sup> M.V.M., 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson's Catalogue Japanese and Chinese Paintings British Museum, 35.

everyoee, and especially to the crops and grain, and his colour is dark blue and indigo, like that of the Wind-god (*Vayu*).

The position of *Aja-Kālaka* at Bharhut, forming a trio with *Kubera* and the Goddess of Earthly Fertility, *Chandā*, is significant, as this identical (?) trio is one of the commonest forms of image at the present day in Japan, as if the Bharhut trio had been hodily transplanted there. The three-faced form of "Daikoko" represents *Kālā* in the middle, with *Bishamon* (i.e., *Kubera*) on the left, and "Benten" (-? *Chanda* and *Hārītī*), the Goddess of Good Fortune, famous for her sons, on the right. That *Aja-Kālaka* prohahly represents *Mahākāla* in this trio, and also the god of the intermediate quarter, "The Wind" (*Vayu*), whose symbol is the goat (*Aja*), we will see later, where I show that *Kubera* has affixed the *Aja* symbol upon his own proper emblem.

An astrological inference resulting from this identification for the trio at the north gate of Bharhut would be that the Brahmans in the 2nd century B.C. had not yet matured their location for their *Lokapāla*. For the Brahmanist *Lokapāla* of the intermediate points north-east and north-west are respectively *Chandra* (the Moon) and *Vayu* (the Wind), represented by the goat *Aja*. Whereas at Bharhut we find these two, *Chandra* and *Aja*, in the converse directions.

Finally, this trio sheds important light upon *Kubera's* own original functions and name. "*Kupiro*," as he is first known to us by the authoritative inscriptions at Bharhot, which are of proved precision, has suggested that the Brahmanical form of his name is incorrect, especially as I find that in modern times the Brahmans again altered his name from "*Kubera*" to "*Kuvera*," to suit the degraded form they assigned him. It is of importaoce, therefore, to ascertain what was the original name of this great pre-Aryan god of India. "*Kupiro*" gives in Saoskrit "*Kupira*" as the form of his name in the second century B.C. This

name, I would suggest, was at that time considered to be derived from *Ku*, "the earth," + *pīlo*, a grain-basket (from *pīl*, to collect), or *pīda*, to heap together = "The Grain-basket of the Earth," or "The Heaper up of [the produce of] the Earth."<sup>1</sup> This would precisely define his attributes as "The God of Riches" in an agricultural country, and also explain why his *Yakshas* should be builders of the stupendous *stūpas*, and also why, with his basket, he should have been the *registrar* of the good deeds of the early Buddhists, in the time of the *Jātakas*, before this duty was transferred to Yama, the God of the Dead. On the other hand, it seems to me probable, from Kubera's weapon being obviously the lightning-shaft of *Rudra* (see Plate, Fig. 3), and his association with the Storm gods, that the original or a later derivation of the name may have been "The Hurter of the Earth" (*Ku+pīta*).

#### EARLY IMAGES OF "THE GREAT KINGS" FROM OTHER SITES.

In other ancient sites than Bharhut statues of the Kings in their early *Yaksha* type are forthcoming. At Asoka's ancient capital the colossal *stūpas* and other fanes erected by the great emperor would appear to have been entrusted to "The Four Kings."

Three massive statues of such *Yaksha* were discovered there in 1811 by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, of the Indian Medical Service,<sup>2</sup> two of which rescued by him are now in the Calcutta Museum. I have described them in an article on "Statues of Asoka's Genii" in my "Report on Pāṭali-putra," pp. 67-68. They are represented in a high style of

<sup>1</sup> An alternative is *Ku+vīra* = "Hero of the Earth," but this does not retain the *p* of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The discovery of these statues is wrongly ascribed in the catalogue of the Calcutta Museum. They are described and figured by that great pioneer of Indian archaeology in his classical *Survey Records* about 1811-12, and two out of the three were brought by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton to the bungalow he was temporarily occupying at Patna in that year. See article by H. Beveridge on "The Buchanan Records" in the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1894, pp. 7 and 8.

Indian art as powerful, dignified men, seven feet high.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions on these two are of post-Asokan age, of about the second century B.C., and have not yet been critically examined. From a rough rubbing of these inscriptions published by General Cunningham,<sup>2</sup> his admittedly tentative transliteration is obviously incorrect in several letters. One of these, read as "*Yakhe Achusatigika*, or *Sanigika*," might equally be read from rubbing as *Yakhe Achu-samgita*, and may possibly be found to be "*Gangita*," the regent of the Eastern Quarter. These inscriptions should be now revised.

A similar colossal statue with an inscription in third century B.C. characters was discovered at Mathura,<sup>3</sup> and still awaits decipherment.

These early sculptures of the type as conceived between the third and first centuries B.C., at a time when the legend was still in a fluid and growing state, may be called the "Proto-Buddhist type" of "The Four Great Kings."

#### LATER STEREOTYPED FORM OF "THE KINGS"— FIRST TO FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

When the legend of the four Kings reached the more developed stage at which we find it in the canon of Buddhism generally, at the beginning of the Christian era the type of image displays a more elaborate and conspicuous symbolism. The several guardians hold in their hands the special attributes of the elemental gods for whom they are regent.

Thus, the *Eastern King*, as the regent of Indra, holds a yak's tail whisk (an emblem of the sensuous luxury of Indra's heaven) at Sānchi, where the two trees of *Gangita* are delineated as two tall trees, one on either side<sup>4</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Archaeological Survey, India, Report XV.*, 1882, Plate II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Report XV., 3.

<sup>3</sup> At Parkham. *Archaeological Survey Report, India, XX.*, 1885, Plate VI., p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> G.B.B.A., 36, for figure. Also Fergusson and Maisey.

guardian. The more usual symbol is a bow and arrow, as representing the bow of the rising sun shooting forth his arrow-like rays of light.

The Southern King wears the mask of an elephant, and bears the irresistible club or sword of Yama, the God of Death.

The Western King, as the "Sun-bird," wears the shining disc of the Sun or the mask of a *Garuḍa* as a cap, and holds an ensnared snake or *Nāga* in semi-human form.

The Northern King, as Rudra's regent, holds the bolt, or lightning-shaft of *Rudra*, figured in the Gandhāra sculptures as a spear (see Plate, Fig. 4). Later it assumed a second pike-like curved prong, and a banner (Fig. 3). The origin of these two extra badges appears to me clear. They are the badges of the two Brahmanical *Lokapālas* on either side of him, whom he presumably absorbed—namely, *Chandra*, the Moon (or *Chanaā*), with the crescent (?) moon or hook (a badge of *Hārītī* and the "key" of *Benten*),<sup>1</sup> and the streaming banner of *Vayu* (the Marut *Aja*, the Goat of Lightning and the Wind).

The Gandhāra sculptures portray these kings in stately classic fashion as terrestrial monarchs (see Plate, Figs. 4 and 5). In Fig. 5 *Kubera* is represented seated in "royal" pose (*i.e.*, luxuriously, with one foot elevated on a stool) alongside *Hārītī*, and surrounded by their children, some of whom are offering fruit or jewels—products of the "Desire-granting Cows" of the myth. In Fig. 4, the fine so-called "Indo-Scythian King"<sup>2</sup>—a cast of which is in the South Kensington Museum (India Section)—we have unmistakably, I feel sure, an image of *Kubera*. He is seated, as in Fig. 5, with his children offering him fruit in bunches and otherwise, and he carries the lightning-bolt of

<sup>1</sup> Were it not for the fact that the Gandhāra sculptures show only one blade to the lance, the two-pronged pike might indicate the hook of *Indra* as the Lord of Wealth (*Vasupati*), by which he "can shower down satisfying wealth on his worshippers as a man with a hook shakes down ripe fruit from a tree." M.V.M., 63.

<sup>2</sup> G.B.A., 137, 138.

the Storm-god Rudra, with a hell tied to its blade; which I should interpret as indicating the thunder of his holt. This represents him as a Storm-god receiving the homage of the fruits of the Earth. Several of the so-called "Bodhisats" in the Gandhāra sculptures are doubtless examples of others of these kings, but most of them have lost their arms and with them their symbols, and their directional position in the ruios has not been recorded. They require now to be re-examined in this light.

In the early cave-temples of India, *Yakshas* appear as guardians at the gates; thus, at Nāsik, one at the entrance to the *Chaitya* cave is stated in the inscription to be a "*Yakkha*," and the two figures by the door of Cave III. bear the same characters<sup>1</sup> also at Kārle *Chaitya* cave.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE MEDIEVAL WARRIOR TYPE OF THE KINGS.

In medieval times, when Buddhism began to absorb within its pantheon malignant spirits of the type of the demons and furies and female energies which Brahmanism by its side was incorporating, the style of the guardian kings assumed a warrior type, as a defence against those aggressive demons. They became fiercer in form, and clad in mail armour, and wreathed in flaming halos, and bore more elaborate weapons (see Fig. 3). And latterly, as fixed stationary guardians, their Atlas-animals are dispensed with, only their skins remaining as cushions.

The date for this change of type can be approximately fixed from their known form at the date of the introduction of the pictures of these kings into Chioa. Their worship was introduced there by Amogha, a teacher of Northern India, in 746-774 A.D.;<sup>3</sup> and the form of the kings at this epoch is revealed by the ancient pictures lately discovered by Dr. Stein in the sealed grotto at Tuo-huaog in the Kansu province of North-west China, and at present

<sup>1</sup> G.B.B.A., 45.

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, Plates XIV., XX., XXV.

<sup>3</sup> E.S.D., 174.

exhibited at the Crystal Palace. These pictures are in two series, one of which (Exhibit No. 62) is dated in the year 890 A.D.; the others (Nos. 27, 36, 38) are manifestly, in my opinion, several centuries earlier, and doubtless represent the form as current in Northern India in the sixth or seventh centuries, and display decided Grecian influence in the treatment of the drapery. All are of the Warrior King type, bearing symbols in their hands almost identical with those at the present day, but mounted on demons like Kupira at Bharhut. The characteristic lance of *Vaisravana* (Kupira), with its second prong and its streamer, are well marked, identical with the type found in ancient Japanese specimens (see Fig. 3).<sup>1</sup>

The colour of the kings is characteristic, and is the complexion of their respective quarters in the heavens, as specified in early Pāli texts and in the *Jātaka* book<sup>2</sup>—namely, silver white for the East; sapphire blue for the South; coral red for the West; and golden yellow for the North.

In Tibet, where the *sūtras* regarding their worship were translated in the ninth century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> the detailed description of them by Tāranātha, as followed by the Lama artists in Tibet and Mongolia, is given in my manuscript Tibetan List<sup>4</sup> as follows:

"The Eastern king, *Dhṛitarāshtra*, is white in colour, and is playing on the strings of a harp. He is in the fashion of a mild deity (Sansk. *Sīva*, T. *Zhi-wa*), and sits upon an elephant-cushion set upon a jewelled seat.

"The Southern king, *Viroḍhaka*, is light blue in colour, and holds a flaming sword. He is slightly angry, and sits on a buffalo-cushion set upon a jewelled seat.

"The Western king, *Virūpāksha*, is red in colour, and smiling. His right hand holds a snake-snare, and his left a jewelled *chaitya*, on which he

<sup>1</sup> Also cf. Grillwedel, *Myth. des Buddhismus*, 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Cakkavatti dipani*, M.B.R., 139-140. For the South this text has *māgi* instead of *nilamani*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kā-gyer*, xii., xiii. C.A., 515 et seq.; translated by Jina-mitra, a contemporary of Ralpachan, 816-838 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> M.B.D., No. 265.

gazes. He has red eyes emitting fiery rays. He has a hood of seven snakes, and sits upon a *nāga* (snake) cushion set upon a jewelled seat.

"The Northern king, *Vaisravana*, is golden-coloured, and holds a flagged lance in his right hand, and *Nakula* in his left. He is fat, and has the mongoose and casket of hidden treasure, and a stream of jewels pours over him. He sits upon a lion-cushion set upon a jewelled seat.

"Each of these great kings is adorned in silks and jewels. They all are noble-looking and brave, and shine with unbearable brightness. They have round and wide-open eyes, and are clad in mail armour of jewels. Their person and their cushions are draped with wish-granting jewels (*chintamani*), and they are equipped in the complete fashion of a universal monarch (*chakravartin*)."

This well describes the general appearance of the kings in the early Chinese pictures of the Stein Collection above noted; but the symbolism is slightly different.

Instead of the bow and arrow of Indra's regent, the Eastern guardian, we find the Tibetan form playing upon the strings of a bowlike guitar, the instrument symbolizing Indra's musicians—the *Gandharvas*—and thus more strictly in keeping with the ancient type of the Eastern regent we have discovered at Bharhut—namely, "the Singing *Gandharva*"—*Gangita*.

Again, the casket held by the Northern regent is stated by the Tibetan record to be not a *chaitya* (which latter is allotted to the Western regent), but the "casket of hidden treasure," which also is probably the correct version (see Fig. 3).

### THE STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION of these Guardian Kings of the Quarters thus we have seen to be the following:

#### 1. *Amerphic Elemental* (Early Vedic, circa 1500-800 B.C.):

*Nomadic Pastoral Period*.—Four of the shadowy and aloof great elemental gods of the Aryans become latterly loosely associated with the quarters—namely, Agni (Fire) with the East, Yama (Earth) with the South, Savitri (Water and Wind) with the West, and Rudra (Air and Mountain tops) with the North.

#### 2. *Anthropomorphic* (Later Vedic, circa 800-300 B.C.):

*Settled Agricultural Period*.—The elemental gods are brought by the Brahmins into closer intimacy with man, and acquire restricted functions and definite shape, and are conceived in human form. Political rule consolidated by absorption of non-Aryan aboriginal

'cults, chiefly *Yaksha*-genii and *Naga*-serpent spirits. The Gods of the Quarters assigned restricted functions and aboriginal spirits as *Aliases* to ride on.

3. *Proto-Buddhist Stage* of King type (*circa* 300-0 B.C.):

*Developing Theistic and Creation of Special New Buddhist Gods.*—Guardianship of Quarters assigned to regents, mostly non-Aryan demigods. Form of regents acquiring special Buddhist type, as beneficent kings.

*This is the stage in the Bharhut Sculptures.*

4. *Stereotyped Buddhist Stage* (first to fifth century A.D.):

*Increasing Theistic Dogma and Ritual.*—Forms stereotyped and spiritualized under Greek art influence of Gandhara. Type, beneficent kings carrying symbols and bearing the new names as found in the Canon.

*This is the stage in the Pāli Canon, and Sīrīchi, and Amarāvati stupas and the Gandhara School.*

5. *Warrior Type Stage* (sixth century A.D. onwards):

*Absorption of Malignant Aboriginal Demons and Furies with Female Energies.*—Taoistic form of regents become fiercer, as armour-clad warrior-kings wreathed in flaming halos, bearing weapons; and latterly, as stationary guardians, their Atlas animals are dispensed with, only their skins remaining as cushions.

*This is the form of the regents in China, Tibet, and Japan, and apparently also in Burma.*

### CONCLUSIONS.

Important historical light is thus shed upon the origin of both Buddhism and Brahmanism by this discovery of the missing images of the two regent-gods in the early Bharhut sculptures.

Amongst other points thus disclosed are the following:

1. Theistic elements manifestly existed in Buddha's own Buddhism, and played a prominent part in Buddha's own teaching (about the fifth century B.C.).

2. The gods at first, with the exception of the Buddhist divinity Maitreya, "The Messiah," were the orthodox Brahmanical ones.

3. These, about 200 B.C., began to be replaced by newly created deities of a special Buddhist type.

4. Of these latter, the Guardian Kings of the Quarters,

as regents of the Aryan elemental gods, were amongst the first to be evolved.

5. The images of these regents at Bharhut, about 100 B.C., are of a distinctively Buddhist type, and reveal these gods at an early stage of their evolution, and considerably earlier than the developed stage met with in the Pāli Canon, thus betraying for the latter a date no earlier presumably than the first to second century A.D.

6. The origin and apparent source of the personal names applied by the Buddhists to these regents is traced for the first time.

7. As Western regent the Buddhists had, before 100 B.C., selected a favourite incarnation of Buddha in his *Jātaka* tales—namely, the Ruddy Goose (*Chakravāka*), as their symbol of the Sun-bird god of Aryan myth.

8. This Buddhist Sun-god in the West, now found to be already represented at Bharhut about 100 B.C., and embodying a favourite incarnation of the historical Buddha, was probably the germ whence the mythical Buddhas of the Quarters were evolved, and especially whence the Sun-worshipping Indo-Scythians developed the Buddhist Sun-god *Amitābha*—“the Buddha of Boundless Light”—and his Western Paradise (*Sukhāvati*), which latter became the popular goal of Indian Buddhism during its most popular period, as it is to-day amongst “Northern” Buddhists. As a fact, the attribute of *Amitābha* is this *Chakravāka* Sun-bird, and the attributes of the remaining celestial Buddhas (the so-called *Dhyani* Buddhas of Hodgson) are those of the Regent Kings of these respective quarters (see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 336-352).<sup>1</sup>

9. The prehistory of the great pre-Aryan god *Kubera*, of “the Buddhist Madonna” *Hāritī*, and presumably of *Mahākāla*—the *Daikoku* of the Japanese—seems now

<sup>1</sup> It seems noteworthy that the name allotted to the Eastern Celestial Buddha—namely, *Aksobhya*, or “The Immovable”—ordinarily means “the post to which an elephant is tied” (Wilson’s Sansk. Dict. 5), and his attribute, as well as that of the Eastern Regent, is an elephant.

traced for the first time. *Kubera* is manifestly the aboriginal Earth-god *Kupira* (= Heaper up of [produce of] the Earth), the presiding genius of Earthly Fertility, and formerly (or latterly) also an atmospheric god, "The Hurter of the Earth," with his Lightning Shaft, the prototype, it seems to me, whence the Brahmans derived *Rudra*, the Storm-god.

10. The Buddhist Madonna is the spouse of *Kupira*, and is traced by me to the goddess *Chandā* of the Bharhut sculptures (*circa* 100 B.C.), whom I identify with the *Kinnara* of that name, and the "Mother of Buddha" of the *Jātakas*. As "Mother Earth" at Bharhut, she holds in her left hand in the "bestowing" pose an ear of golden rice corn, "the precious thing of the [Indian] Family" (*Nakula*). Later, in the Gandhāra sculptures of the Grecian school (*circa* first to third century A.D.), as "the Maternal," she becomes a classic Madonna, holding in her left hand in "bestowing" pose (like Isis nourishing Horus) her own fruit, "the precious one of her Family"—her own son *Nakula*. And latterly, in medieval Buddhism, from the seventh century A.D. onwards, the godling *Nakula* is symbolized as the rat-like animal "Nakula," the mongoose, held in the left hand of his father, *Kupira*, in his mode known as "*Jambhala*," also in the "bestowing" pose. How *Hāritī*, the Madonna, became a she-devil, "the Stealer and Devourer of Children," and, as such, the subject of an alleged miracle by Buddha, is shown to be presumably the product of a false etymology of her name, subsequent to the first century B.C.

#### ABBREVIATIONS.

A.Q.R.—Asiatic Quarterly Review.

B.C.B.—Beal, Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, 1871.

B.L.B.—Beal, Legend of Saky Buddha, 1875.

B.L.G.—Bigandet, Legend of Gotama, 1880.

C.A.—Csoma, Analysis of Kū-gyur, etc., from the Tibetan, Asiatic Researches, XX.

- C.S.B. = Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, 1879.  
 D.B.S. = Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, 1880.  
 D.H.M. = Dowson, Hindu Mythology, 1880.  
 E.S.D. = Eitel, Sanskrit Chinese Dictionary, 1888.  
 G.B.B.A. = Grünwedel and Burgess, Buddhist Art in India, 1901.  
 H.B.M. = Hoernle, Bower Manuscript, 1897.  
 H.M.B. = Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, 1880.  
 J.C. = Jātakas, Cowell's Translation, I.-VI., 1895-1907.  
 J.R.A.S. = Journal Royal Asiatic Society.  
 K.M.B. = Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 1900.  
 L.V.F. = Lalita Vistara, Foucaux's Rgya-cher-rol-pa translated from  
     the Tibetan.  
 M.B.D. = My Manuscript: Descriptive List of Buddhist Deities in  
     Tibetan (L. A. Waddell).  
 M.R.B. = Minayeff, Recherches sur le Bouddhisme, Paris, 1894.  
 M.V.M. = Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 1897.  
 R.L.B. = Rockhill, Life of Buddha, 1892.  
 S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.  
 W.B.T. = Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, 1895.  
 W.L.M. = Waddell, Lhasa and its Mysteries, 1905.  
 W.P.R. = Waddell, Report on Excavations at Pātaliputra, 1903.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, October 23, 1911, a paper was read by the well-known traveller and lecturer, Oliver Bainbridge, Esq., on "Some Impressions of India." Surgeon-General G. J. H. Evatt, C.B., was in the chair, and the following, amongst other ladies and gentlemen, were present: H. H. the Thakore Sahib and Maharani of Gondal, Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Jane Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Dodderet, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. White, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. B. B. Kanga, the Rev. W. Hind, Mrs. E. Rosher, Mr. and Mrs. River, Mr. H. A. Talcherkar, Miss Muller, Mr. T. Menexes, Mr. K. S. Bannerjee, Mr. K. P. Bhutnagar, Mrs. John Loch, Mrs. Erskine Loch, Mrs. Drury Pennington, Miss Gordon, Colonel Masters, Mr. H. R. Mehta, Mrs. Michael Smith, Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Kuma: Shri Ajit Singhji of Morvi, Mr. A. Grey, Mr. W. Douglas, Miss Picton-Warlow, Mr. K. T. Mangaldas, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. R. Byng Campbell, Mrs. and Miss Marin, Miss Barker, Mr. Judd, Mr. George Dean, Mr. Haq, Mr. D. Alan Purdie, Mr. E. R. Abbott, Mr. A. Rundall, Mr. E. Maddox, Dr. Ryom, Miss Mitchell, Miss Pollen, Mr. F. H. Marchant, Mr. John Kelsall, Miss Whitewright, Mr. Arthur Stannard, Mr. Coleman P. Hyman, Miss Johnssoo, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, owing to the unavoidable absence of Lord Lamington, who usually presides at our opening meeting, Surgeon-General Evatt has very kindly consented to take the chair this evening.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is a very great pleasure to me to meet the wishes of the Hon. Secretary by taking the chair at a moment's notice. The lecture to-day is "Some Impressions of India," and the lecturer is Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, the celebrated and well-known traveller and lecturer. I should say there is no one in this room but has had some personal impressions of India. I spent twenty of the most interesting years of my life there, serving with my regiments in that country, and certainly the impression left on me is simply too charming to

express in words. Some people have said that India is the land of regrets, but I believe it to be the land of intense hopes, certainly not of regrets. (Hear, hear.) Here in this hall, where I think every possible movement for the benefit of humanity seems to start, I have heard many interesting expressions of opinion as regards India, and I say that we are indeed fortunate to-day to have a perfectly independent opinion. This time it is not a retired civil servant, or a soldier, or an Indian civilian, but our lecture to-day comes from an exceedingly interesting and very outspoken race—(Laughter)—and a race which can see as far into a stone wall as anyone can. The opinions of this American gentleman—who is, I understand, a trained observer and an excellent speaker—ought to be very interesting indeed. The lecture will take some time to deliver, and there will be a short discussion afterwards. I desire to say I have not read the lecture. I will now invite Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, in the name of those assembled here, to give us his address on "Some Impressions of India."

The LECTURER, who was received with loud applause, said: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, early in my life I developed the moving-about habit, and for the last sixteen years I have been wandering about the face of the earth. During that time I have visited a number of countries, and have covered a distance of something like two hundred thousand miles, my object being to make a comparative study of the peoples of the earth, which is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating of pursuits. For instance, if we could fly at this moment to China—the object of much concern to-day—we should find that there the people of China are the absolute antithesis of all the peoples of the West. Take as an example your costume in England. If it were possible to step into a Chinese hall, we should probably find no ladies present, but where ladies were present, we should find there the ladies wearing the trousers, and the gentlemen would be found to be wearing the skirts!

In going through the schools and colleges of China you would notice that the students there, when studying—if something in the nature of a difficult problem should arise—instead of scratching their heads, always scratch their toes. (Laughter.) In everything the exact opposite! In fact, all the countries of the East are the opposite to what we are, almost in every detail; and mysterious India is the most confusing and the most puzzling of them all. It is, indeed, a very difficult matter for a Westerner to go to India and understand even one of the races of India. I have paid two long visits to that great country, and all I can do now is simply to give a few impressions—and only impressions—of it.

(The lecture was then continued by the lecturer, who, at the conclusion, was greeted with loud applause.)

(The following remarks were made by the chairman after the completion of the lecture.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the next item on the agenda says, "the Chairman addresses the Meeting," but in this case he does so simply for the purpose of asking if any lady or gentleman here is anxious to discuss this lecture. The title of the paper is "Some Impressions of

India," but I think that ought to be amplified, and that he should have added, "and things in general," because we have had many things which are quite outside India. I see our Secretary, Dr. Pollen, has a nice blue pencil in his hand, and I would suggest that before the paper is sent out to the world at large, he might go over it and see whether they are really the impressions which he wishes to go forth as the impressions of this Association.

The Hon. SECRETARY : As an Association, we do not pledge ourselves to accept any of the views set before us by a lecturer who addresses this meeting. When we invite a lecturer, he has a perfect right to put forward his views in any way he likes.

The CHAIRMAN : It is a great comfort to me to know that.

The LECTURER : Perhaps I might be permitted to say, ladies and gentlemen, that these papers are always passed by the literary committee of the Association, and therefore they permit such things to be said, and they approve of them before they are read.

The CHAIRMAN : The reason I spoke was that, within the four walls of Caxton Hall we, who are assembled here to-night, are not so much influenced by lectures on India. We are a body who know a great deal about India. We receive lectures, of course, with much thankfulness, and with much interest, but we *know*—that is the great point. Long years of life in India—long years of marching about, and of study and inquiry—have made every one of us in this room understand much more about the matter, and there is hardly an individual in this room who does not know a great deal about India. A lecturer, therefore, comes to us, and we take him and his remarks, as it were, with so much salt. No doubt that is an element which has got to be listened to, and to be spoken about, but what I desire to say is that there is a world outside Caxton Hall, and there are many schools of thought, both in England and throughout the world, which, I think, will have something to say on the subject. For me, at any rate, India did not begin when the first Englishman landed at Surat. India herself has produced many splendid minds, which have not been referred to. India has also produced many creeds that have given comfort to millions—and hundreds of millions—of people. There have been Emperors of India who perfectly understood the art of government centuries before. The Emperor Akbar, and all those men who worked with him, took an exceedingly high view of what the duties of statesmanship were—I mean to say, of mercy, courage, and justice. All those things did not arrive in India in a kind of *Mary-boat* when we landed at Surat. I say we want to look at things with a true perspective. This lecture seems to me to be painted with a whitewash-brush in very lurid colours indeed. I speak to you in this way because you have asked me to address you, and I must not give you a mealy-mouthed address. I look on India as a sacred thing to deal with, and you must remember that every word that you say goes outside these walls to those people in India. Undoubtedly the English people have a passionate sympathy with the people of India, but there is India herself to be considered. Before this is transmitted to India, there are certain remarks in it which I think ought

to be struck out. Personally, I think that the remark referred to as being made by the Maharaja of Burdwan should have been left unsaid, because it is my opinion that the Maharaja greatly sinned when he spoke of an English Member of Parliament in the way he did. When the English people elect a man as their Member, he has a right to speak as he thinks fit. However, the matter is now over, and it is now the duty of the Chairman to invite discussion. The duration of the speeches will be limited to ten minutes each, and any lady or gentleman wishing to speak are requested to send in their cards. Up to the present we are honoured by the presence of four gentlemen who propose to take part in the discussion. I have great pleasure in calling on Thakur Seesodia to address the meeting first.

THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJ SINGHJI SEESODIA said that they would all agree they had heard a most interesting lecture on India, although he believed it came from a new source. As a foreigner, their lecturer (judging from the contents of his paper) seemed to have gone into the depths of India. One question he had raised was the question of the absence of railways in India in olden times, but, he would like to ask, How many years before India had they had railways in England? If they would only look at the past history of that country, they could not but admit that India had been a very highly civilized country in times gone by. It seemed hardly fair to suggest that the entire prosperity and the present conditions of India were solely due to the British occupation. They had, as the Chairman pointed out, previously had great administrators, and it certainly was not all due to British education. They had with them that evening His Highness the Thakur Sahib of Gondal, who, although he had made a thorough study of Western life and conditions, was nevertheless a product of Eastern education. Akbar had been mentioned, and there were many others, such as Tippu and Ranjit Singh, who had been great administrators in their own way. It was the sacred duty of a ruler to look after the working of internal forces, and to see to the welfare of the empire or kingdom which had been entrusted to him.

Credit, of course, was due to England for doing so much, but they also owed a great deal in the natural process of evolution, and to state that they owed all their modern improvements to England was quite wrong. They were grateful to Britain, but Britain must also be thankful to them for being brought into contact with India. Where would England have been now on the anniversary of Trafalgar but for India? He asserted that England could not have been successful at the Battle of Trafalgar if it had not been for the assistance of the great wealth of India, which helped to raise her from a second-rate Power in the world to that of a first-rate Power.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said that he would like to express his gratitude to the lecturer for the very generous commendation he had bestowed on the British administration of India. But he wished to deal with the paper from another point of view. When the Pope proposed to confer canonization on an individual, he first of all appointed someone to act as "The Devil's Advocate," as it were, whose business it was to bring forward any-

thing that could be said against the character of the person selected. He proposed, therefore, to occupy that unpleasant position for the time being, and to mention certain points where he thought the administration of India might be altered for the better. From his own personal experience of a quarter of a century in India, he thought the method of recruiting for the lower ranks of the Government service might be much improved. At present candidates were appointed after a literary examination of a low standard; there was no inquiry about physique or character. Taking the Deccan, with which he was best acquainted, there almost all the Government posts were filled by Brahmins, and the Maharratis of the Province had practically no chance at all. So in Sind the Amils, to a great extent, excluded the Mussulmans, who formed the bulk of the population.

Another matter was that of the system of civil law in India. Instead of being a blessing, it had been a curse; although, of late years, the Government had made efforts to mitigate its evil effects by such laws as the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and the Punjab Land Alienation Act. Owing to the intricacies of the law, a poor cultivator had absolutely no chance against the money-lender. Again, to mention one point that came under his personal observation, in certain civil courts the money-lenders had in their pay some of the bailiffs. When a money-lender brought a suit, and a day had been fixed for hearing, summonses were issued which were served by the bailiffs. Instead of taking his summons to the poor uneducated defendant, it was not uncommon for the bailiff to get a friend to sign it as received on behalf of the defendant, who had never heard of it. When the case came on for trial, judgment was given by default in the absence of the defendant.

A third point was the question of Government education. It supplied only a knowledge of facts, without framing character. It ignored the great question of religion. This had produced bad results, not in India only. France had tried the same system, not to the improvement of the rising generation.

Another matter was that of industry, and the necessity for protecting infant Indian Industries. There were very few industries which had grown up without protection, even in our own country, in times gone by. I should be possible to give to India protection at least against the foreigner.

But in spite of certain defects, he wished to express his deep conviction that both in intention and result the British Government in India yielded to none in the world.

MR. H. A. TALCHERKAR said that England being the land of free speech he was not afraid of being sent to prison for what he was about to say. The lecturer had told them many sweet tales of India, but he would have preferred a little more plain speaking. It was a disappointment to him to have heard only one side of the case; it would have been more delightful if they had heard something of the other side of the picture as well. Certainly the lecturer's impressions were flattering to a certain section of the community, but if he had only come into more intimate contact with the

people—the masses—he would, perhaps, have been able to give them a different version of the conditions in India.

He (the speaker) had also travelled in many countries, and he had often been asked how it was that 86,000 Englishmen could govern 300,000,000 of people in India, and he told them it was, in a way, by a sort of hypnotism. A close observer of Indian history would not need to be told how the British had conquered India.

The reference had been made to the testimony of the Honourable Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, and others. Of course, having regard to the circle in which these Indian magnates moved, they were likely to give such a version, but that was not stating the real opinions of the masses. Now, however, the masses were being taught in the schools and colleges of the country, and they were told, in reflections on English history, how the Englishman had failed in his duty in many directions. In those directions they were finding that, in some respects, English education was acting as a boomerang.

Regarding the question of marriage, which had been strongly referred to by the lecturer, he was of opinion that married life, in its real sense, did exist in India. Taking into account the state of conjugal life in America, it was rather bold for the lecturer to attack the Hindu marriage system.

MR. T. MEHEZES said that as he had not come to the meeting with any intention of speaking, he craved their indulgence if he should fall short in any way in his few remarks. He was of opinion that the lecturer's paper was full of inconsistencies and full of bias, and was altogether a one-sided paper to present to that meeting. He thought, perhaps, that might be due to the fact that the lecturer had only had time to get a superficial grasp of the whole conditions of Indian life. He had mentioned having consulted the late Nizam of Hyderabad, but he would like him to have consulted the masses, instead of consulting only those people who were well off. Under the circumstances he thought it was impossible for the lecturer to know as much as some of those who were present—men who had spent many years in the country. The natural result was that the lecturer displayed some ignorance of the real facts of the case. As had been stated by previous speakers, it was admitted that the English nation had received much assistance from India during the wars against Napoleon; therefore he did not think it right to speak of the people of India in the very disparaging manner as he suggested the lecturer had done that evening in the course of his paper.

The Hon. SECRETARY in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his excellent paper, said that he was sure it was not anyone's intention to disparage India in any way. He thought no one who had spent any long time in India could speak disrespectfully of the country. He gathered from conversation with the lecturer that he had lived amongst the Rulers as well as amongst the rulers of India, and that he was profoundly touched by the relations that existed between them. It was a mistake to suppose that the rulers and the ruled belonged to different castes—there was no such thing.

Their thanks were also due to their Chairman, because it was due to his initiative that the lecturer had been invited to address them at their opening meeting, and he hoped they would show by their applause their appreciation of the lecture they had had the pleasure of listening to that evening. (Hear, hear.)

SIR ROBERT FULTON, in seconding the resolution, desired to express the thanks of all who had been engaged in the administration of India for the remarks made by the lecturer. He had spent forty-four years in India, occupying the responsible position of a Judge. He thought the work done by the Civil Servants in India was a very wonderful work. They had to govern large tracts of country, and they did it uncommonly well. Similar ground in England would have to be covered by hosts of officials and municipalities, and even then the work could not proceed in a more satisfactory manner than was the case in India. Mr. Leslie Moore had referred to certain abuses in the administration of the Civil Law, but he would point out that even in this country we were not quite free from similar defects, and one had only to read the pages of Dickens to see that, in the old days, far greater hardships were entailed on the people of England as a result than was the case in India at present. To suggest that such abuses were the fault of the law itself was not correct; he thought the Judges carried out their onerous duties to the best of their ability, and any such faults must be attributed to the malpractices of subordinates. One speaker had adverted to the administration of justice as between Europeans and Indians, and had said that it was to be condemned. He wished to give an entire denial to that statement, and to say it was an aspersion on the administration of justice in India. For a great many years he had personally administered justice, and he could honestly say that he had never made the slightest distinction between European or Indian, neither did he think had any of his colleagues.

He fully agreed with the lecturer in almost every respect, but there was one point on which he begged to correct him. The lecturer had referred to an Indian lady who was famous throughout Bengal for her liberality and generosity, but he was under the impression that he had not given her correct name or title, which, he ventured to think, should have been the Maharani Shurnomayi of Cossimbazar. He remembered her by reputation very well indeed, and she was undoubtedly the most beneficent lady that ever existed in India as far as he knew. She was now succeeded by a relative, who was most worthily following in her footsteps. They would remember the name was "Shurnomayi"; "Shurno" was the Bengali for "gold," and therefore her name signified "made of gold," which, he ventured to say, was a most appropriate name for the lady in question.

The vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

The LECTURER, in replying to the discussion, said that he could only reiterate all he had said in his paper, and he still emphasized his impressions. He thanked them exceedingly for the hearty vote of thanks they had been good enough to accord to him.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings of the evening.

The following letter has been received by the Hon. Secretary:

LONDON,  
October 25, 1911.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

I had no intention of joining in the discussion, but I think it is my duty to write a few lines about a paper so ably written and so severely criticized by my fellow-countrymen.

The idea of my friends was that Mr. Bainbridge has taken a one-sided, or rather the Anglo-Indian, view of India, and that he had had no opportunity of studying the real people—the cultivating classes of India. But in this they were wrong, as we find in his paper that he has studied the policy of Lord Curzon, which benefited the cultivating classes considerably in several ways, as by the organization of the irrigation department, agricultural banks, improvement of the agricultural department, etc.

We Oriental people, those of us who have lived in England, know that the working men in this country form a most important and useful section of the community, and they are far more intelligent, well-informed, active, honest and straightforward, than our cultivating classes in India. Englishmen in India have tried their best to improve the position of that particular class, but perhaps our caste system has hindered the work of raising them to a position of equality and prevented their education. It is true also that, unless we educate our agriculturists and give more freedom to the women of our country India will never rise.

Mr. Bainbridge was right to collect his information from the ruling Princes of India, because it is the Indian ruler who knows the true sentiments of their people. As a member of the family of one of the oldest landholders of Eastern Bengal, I may say that we know our tenants and dependents, their sentiments, their good and bad points and exactly what is required for their welfare, better than anyone else. In my part of the country we love them and are loved in return; we hold our own "kaehari" (office), and preside over local disputes and petty criminal and judicial cases, and they are satisfied and contented with our decisions.

As regards the remarks of my Mahratta friend, I beg to say that the English do not hold India by "hypnotism," but by virtue of good government. If we look back into the internal affairs of the country immediately before the English occupation, we find the Mohammedan rulers were busy only in collecting the revenue, and that they left the country unprotected to be plundered by the Mahrattas who used to approach Bengal and Bihar by land, and by the Dutch and Portuguese sea-faring people who used to plunder the coasts.

They were plundering the country, massacring the people and burning towns and villages. There was no security for life and property. During this time the English had established themselves in Bengal as merchants, and by their straight dealing, ideal life, wisdom and strong will, attracted the attention of the people, and in time they secured their confidence and respect, and were considered the right people to give a good government to the country both by the people and by the dissatisfied nobility in the court of Murshidabad. The door of India was left open on the field of

Plassy to welcome the English—it is a mistake to call the late Lord Clive "Jaliat"—i.e., traitor and intruder. The question is often asked why the English interfered?

We know that wherever there was injustice in the world England has always come to help; it is their nature to do so, not always for business reasons, or from an eager desire to extend their Empire.

It is sad to hear such hasty remarks from Englishmen as that "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword"; and from Indians that English keep India by "hypnotism."

India was won not by the sword, but by straight and honest dealings and sympathy; and is not kept by "hypnotism," but by good government and justice. It is the people of India who fought against the established governments in the past under the guidance of the English, and with their help established the present Government which has given the country a constitution and united the people, so that, undoubtedly, the country is prospering.

Lord Curzon's Government, though severely criticized, has improved and organized important departments of the State, and improved the position of the cultivators. We Indians often forget, in criticizing, that the Imperial policy of a Government may be against the feelings and sentiments of a certain section of the community, but may be greatly beneficial and necessary for the good government of the country generally.

Some will say that it is easy to prove by statistics of increased exports and imports, and the increased consumption of gold and silver, that the country is improving, but that the condition of the cultivating classes has not improved materially, as we find them less contented than they were fifty years ago. It is true they are not so contented as before, and the reason is that their standard of living has improved, and they are more inclined to luxuries. This change may have come about too rapidly among the poorer classes, but is it not a proof of the improved financial condition of the people? The pay of skilled and unskilled labour has increased—nearly doubled during the last ten years (in Bengal)—while the cost of the necessaries of life has not increased in the same proportion. Still, the workmen are not satisfied, and if things continue as at present we shall soon have labour wars, such as are going on in England at present, which, I may say, will break up the middle classes.

No doubt things were all that could be wished for in the dim and distant past in India, but we must not forget to compare the British rule with the state of things immediately preceding it.

K. C. BANNERJEE.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, October 30, 1911, a paper was read by Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., on "The Gates of India." The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, O.C.V.O., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., occupied the Chair, and the following among other ladies and gentlemen, were present: H.H. the Thakore Sahib and Maharani of Gondal, Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Maneherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir James and Lady Hayes Sadler, Sir Walter and Lady Hughes, Lady Holdich, Lieutenant-Colonel L. S. Newmarch, Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., Mr. T. E. Ivens, Miss Patterson, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Ratcliffe, Mr. H. C. West, Mr. Havelock, Miss E. J. Beck, Mr. G. H. B. McSwioey, Miss Hilda M. Howsin, Mr. K. P. Bhunagar, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. D. Alan Purdie, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. H. F. Eaton, Colonel Masters, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. G. Yasin, Mr. F. Khilnany, Mr. and Mrs. Duncombe, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. A. A. Khan, Mr. S. S. Saraf, Mr. F. W. Barber, Mr. W. F. and Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. White, Mr. F. Marchant, Miss Fasson, Dr. Vaughan Cornish, Mr. Oliver Wakefield, Major Wightwick Haywood, Mr. William Douglas, Mr. G. A. Evans, Mrs. Pascoli, Mrs. Furnell, Miss Campbell, and Mr. J. B. Pennington, Acting Hon. Secretary.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL (who took the Chair during the absence of the Chairman) said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry to say that Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, our Chairman, has not yet arrived, but I hope he will be here presently, and as it is time to commence, I beg leave to introduce to you Sir Thomas Holdich, who has an unrivalled experience of the matters about which he is going to lecture to us this evening. (Applause.)

(The reading of the lecture followed.)

The Right Hon. SIR HENRY MORTIMER DURAND (Chairman) said: Ladies and gentlemen, before saying a word about our lecturer, Sir Thomas Holdich, and his deeply interesting lecture, I must apologize to him and to you for having been unavoidably detained by another duty, and having been unable to be present at the commencement of the lecture. I must now ask any gentlemen who wish to speak to be good enough to send up their cards; the rule, I think, as you all know, with regard to the discussion, is that speakers should, as far as possible, be limited to ten minutes each, and that their remarks must be strictly relevant to the issue.

COLONEL YATE said they were all greatly indebted to Sir Thomas Holdich for his interesting and graphic description of what he described as "The Gates of India." Although he could not attempt to go round India in the way Sir Thomas had done, he would say a word as to the practical points of the question at the present time. They all knew there were various schemes now being considered in London and elsewhere for the connecting of the railways with regard to the through line from Europe to India and China, which had been mentioned in the lecture. One of the most important things in the lecture, to his opinion, came at the end, where Sir Thomas described the Trans-Persian Railway, one of the schemes which was under consideration. They were told that from Ispahan to Karachi, via Makrān, "there is not a really formidable obstacle to the construction of a railway; there is not an altitude of any significance; and there is, moreover, for the greater part of the year a delightful climate and generally a fair water-supply." It was a great thing for them to know that from Ispahan to Karachi there was no absolute impediment to making the railway; but it was of great importance to this country that in the case of any junction of the Russian and Indian Railways that junction should be to the west or north of Ispahan, and not to the east or south of it. The whole trade of India would depend on where the break in the gauge between the Russian and Indian lines on that Trans-Persian Railway would occur. As a matter of fact, Makrān was very sparsely populated, and the amount of her trade would be infinitesimal. Supposing the break of gauge took place at Kerman, the result would be that Russian goods from the North would come down and flood Southern Persia, and English and Indian goods would be shut out. Therefore, they should see that in any negotiations regarding the Trans-Persian Railway, the first condition to be imposed was that the Indian railways should have the right of entry throughout Southern Persia. With regard to Northern Persia, it was proposed that the Russian Railway should run down from Baku to Teheran, and thence down towards Ispahan. Now, unless England had a fair share of the railway in Southern Persia, the construction of the suggested Trans-Persia Railway, instead of being an advantage to England and India, would be a great disadvantage, as our trade would be cut out altogether. At present, the greater part of our Persian Gulf trade was by sea up to Bushire, and then by road to Shiraz and Ispahan. A considerable portion of our trade now went via Baghdad, and thence to Teheran; but England must retain the right of entry into Ispahan if the railway was to be of any advantage at all to British and Indian trade. He was strongly of opinion that those points should be thoroughly considered by those who were engaged in the negotiations regarding the proposed railways in Persia.

SIR J. D. REES said he gathered that Colonel Yate was chiefly concerned with the point of junction in Southern Persia of the lines from the west to the east through that country; but he understood the lecture's paper to contemplate two lines in the future, one through Afghanistan and Northern Persia from Russia, and another through Makrān and Baluchistan to Sind from Baghdad, but he did not know if he was right in supposing that to be the case. As he understood the nature of the paper, the practical part for

their discussion was Sir Thomas's forecast of the future, in which he thought there would be no difficulty in making the Southern Railway; but in his opinion there was one very serious obstacle—and he felt sure the lecturer would agree—and that was the financial obstacle. He could not understand how there could be any likelihood of two great railways ever traversing a country like Persia, which was dried up, and without prospect of ever again becoming an irrigated country enjoying a fairly favourable climate. Financial considerations would never allow, he thought, of two railways going across that country. There was little prospect of this country ever finding the necessary capital for such strategic lines, as had been done by Russia for its great strategic line across Siberia. It seemed to him that this country would do less and less in that direction; the trend of events at home at the present time seemed to be to devote all their financial resources to purposes not unconnected with the next General Election—whether called Social Reform or by various other names, and it was hardly likely there would be any funds available for strategic extensions in the directions suggested. He had heard a lecture the other day, when also Sir Mortimer Durand was in the chair, which dealt with a proposal to make a railway across the waterless desert of North Arabia, and to pick up the line from Baghdad somewhere above the Persian Gulf. Unfortunately, all these schemes seemed to have left out of account the fact that capital will not go where there is not a fair prospect of a return, unless the country providing the capital was great enough to indulge in strategic lines and developments of that description which did not need to show any immediate return to the investor or to the State. If anybody taking part in the discussion could point to any hope that capital would ever be available for those purposes, he would be glad to hear what they had to say on these particular points. He certainly agreed with Colonel Vate that it was of the utmost importance that some schemes should be mapped out, and that we should obtain the concessions for them, as we had the first rights to them, in Southern and South-Western Persia. That was an area which, most improperly he ventured to think, from the mere point of view of this country's relations with Persia, was regarded as a neutral sphere. England had consented, under the Anglo-Russian Convention, to regard it as neutral. Of course, all conventions were a case of give and take—in our case mostly take on the other side—(laughter)—and England assented to regard as a neutral zone territory in which she had the same interests which Russia had in the northern part of Persia, which was in her sphere, and in which she had far greater rights than Russia had in Central Persia. Under existing arrangements between Persia, Russia, and England, and under an agreement with the Shah Nasr-ud-din, which was confirmed by his successor, if any railway was made in Northern Persia, England was at liberty to make a corresponding line in Southern Persia; but up to now, as far as he knew, that very important neutral zone on the north shore of the Persian Gulf was absolutely unoccupied by any concessions or claims, and therefore it was very important that such claims should be made, and made by Great Britain. For that reason he heartily agreed with Colonel Vate, and so far was also in entire agreement with what Sir Thomas Holdich

had said that evening on that subject. Of course, the greater part of the lecturer's paper dealt with the geographical, geological and historical aspect of the whole question, upon which he was a past-master, and it would ill become anyone like himself to make any remarks on that part of the paper, except to say how greatly he had enjoyed hearing the lecturer deal with those interesting subjects.

He did not quite understand what Colonel Yate meant by the break of gauge on the railways; he did not know there was any necessity for a break at all. However, apart from that, he did not think the engineers had got so far as to consider what gauge these railways should be, and perhaps not even to the definite fact that the railway will ever be made. Perhaps the lecturer, if he was good enough to reply to their criticisms, would clear up that point, because he did not quite understand what Colonel Yate referred to.

COLONEL YATE said he would like to explain that the Indian and the Russian railways were of different gauges, and that therefore there must be a break somewhere for the traffic of each railway.

SIR J. D. REES: Yes; but we do not know what the gauge of these extensions will be.

COLONEL YATE: But whichever gauge is taken there must of necessity be a break somewhere.

SIR J. D. REES: Well, I think it will be time enough to consider that aspect of the case when the two railways are getting near to one another. I do not think it matters much at the present stage of the negotiations; but Sir Thomas Holdich contemplates two distinct lines across Persia—one in the North, which might be of the Russian Central Asian gauge, and another across the South, which might be of that or of any other gauge.

MR. R. E. FORREST said that he had only a little to say, and that was not altogether connected with the subject of the paper he had been privileged to hear. Four or five years ago he had made the acquaintance in Germany of a lady, one of whose sons, an officer, was engaged as professor or instructor in the military academy at Metz. He had been once in the Quartermaster-General's department. He had been asked to meet him several times. On one occasion, during their conversation, he expressed a good deal of interest in him (the speaker) as having been in India. He talked to this gentleman largely on Indian subjects, thinking he would know very little about them; but he soon found that he knew a great deal more than he had given him credit for, and, in fact, a great deal more than he could tell him. He found that he knew all about Nepal, and knew exactly everything that could be known about it. They continued to talk about that country, and then he asked him why he took such an interest in that region, and he answered, "Oh, because that is one of the routes of approach to India." He knew all about the Himalayas, and all the various passes. He did not say exactly, but he was given to understand that the whole subject had been studied, and that they had thoroughly considered the question of an approach to India through Tibet or Nepal. It might have been merely academic, or merely a matter of

personal opinion, but the way that he dwelt on it went to show that he bad the idea that India could be entered by that northern opening.

There was only one thing else he wished to refer to : that was in connection with the statement of the valley of the Brahmaputra River having been entered and surveyed by Indian native surveyors from either end. These men did their work very quietly, and, though the task was full of hardships and danger, were never heard of outside their own little sphere. A few years ago, in a report of the Survey Department of India, lent him by a friend of his, General Saxton, once Surveyor-General in Southern India, he found that one party of Indian surveyors was marking out boundaries beyond the Himalayas in the West, another on the borders of Siam in the East, doing work most creditable to themselves, to their department and to the institutions in which they were trained. But who heard of their labours except the department itself? Their rewards were not very great, and they only took the form of increased emoluments, not of honours and distinctions. These did not go down so low. They ought to. Such meritorious and special services deserve the Order of Merit. But, taking them altogether, the men of the lower grades of the great Survey Department of India have had very scanty rewards of this kind for their services. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: If there is no one else who wishes to speak, I will ask Sir Thomas Holdich to be good enough to reply to the discussion.

COLONEL SIR THOMAS HUNTERFORD HOLDICH: There is not very much for me to reply to, but I should just like to mention one point to which Colonel Yate did not refer when he was talking about Southern Persia, and to which Sir John Rees did refer when talking about the unprofitable nature of the route which it is proposed the line should take. I do not know of anyone who is better acquainted than Colonel Yate with the conditions of Southern Persia, but I have been always led to believe that there are plenty of very fine and comparatively flourishing cities there, and that under the necessary conditions of good management and railway connection, which would have to be assured, I think there would be a very considerable trade passing that way. No doubt we all remember the controversy that arose about the carrying of a railway through the desert of Sind, when it was maintained by the opponents of that scheme that there never would be traffic enough to warrant it, and I remember that Sir Richard Strachey was responsible for the remark that there never would be traffic enough to satisfy even one train of trucks per diem! We now know that the line has not only been doubled, but it is one of the best paying railway-lines in India. Undoubtedly, railways bring their own traffic with them. I think that Southern Persia is one of those countries where enormous developments would follow the construction of a railway.

Sir John Rees was quite right when he said that I suggested two lines for the future, one through Southern Persia, which I understand has been under consideration for some time, and one connecting Herat with Quetta, which, also, I may candidly state, I have lectured pretty freely about to the military authorities, and they have condemned it utterly. (Laughter.)

Nevertheless, considering the enormous system of Russian railways approaching India, and another system growing in India, only separated by this short link, I cannot but believe that, in God's good time, the two will certainly be connected—in fact, they must be.

Then I was very much obliged to the last speaker for his reference to the native surveyors of India (hear, hear,) because no one can appreciate them more than I do. Of course, their names are not before the public eye—it would have been high treason some time ago to state who they were, and where we got all the information which was required in the north-west hinterland—but I may perhaps refer to a remark that was made by Sir West Ridgeway in his report at the end of the difficult negotiations which concluded with the Russo-Afghan boundary agreement. In that report he says that the Government of India possesses no better, no more loyal, and no more strenuously hard-working lot of servants than in the native staff of surveyors of India. Personally, I may say that I am very much indebted to them, and I never can look back to my own career in India without thinking of them. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will agree that there is no one more thoroughly fitted to give us a comprehensive view of "The Gates of India" than Sir Thomas Holdich, and the lecture we have just heard is exactly what we should have expected from him, thoughtful and exhaustive and eloquent. I am not going to say very much about it, but as a former Minister in Persia I was interested in the remarks which fell from Colonel Yate and Sir John Rees with regard to a railway in that country, and I wish to express my entire agreement with what they have said. It is of the greatest possible importance that, whatever has happened in the past, we should maintain, I will not say our hold on Southern Persia, but our influence there. We should have a hand, to say the least of it, in any railway development that goes on in that part of the country. There is just one thing more that I should like to say before I sit down. Sir Thomas Holdich began his interesting lecture by referring to the political situation in Asia. He said: "Politically we exercise a gentle benignity towards Russia, and we are almost in danger of forgetting that nothing whatever has altered the actual position in the far North-West of India, excepting the gradual consolidation of Russia's military strength on the Asiatic borderland, whilst we have been enjoying a political siesta." That is a very valuable remark, and one we had better bear in mind. Nothing that I say must be considered as showing the faintest antagonism towards Russia. Far from it. As an old diplomatist I thoroughly recognize the value of diplomatic conventions, and of friendship with other Powers. But, as I have said before, and I take every opportunity of saying it, do not let us be deluded in the future into attaching undue weight to diplomatic Conventions. They are excellent things in their way, and it is most desirable at times that we should enter into them; but do not let us forget, in considering this question of "The Gates of India," that what we have to depend upon for the security of those gates is one thing, and one thing only—our own military strength. (Hear, hear.) We are not in India, and we do not intend to be in India, by the toleration of any Power on

earth. (Applause.) The more clearly we recognize that fact the better for us. (Hear, hear.)

SIR J. D. REES, in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas Holdich for the excellent paper he had read to them, said that, although the Indian surveyors he had referred to were not so much before the public eye as their merits deserved, there was, at any rate, one Indian surveyor who had a world-wide reputation and a position of very great eminence, and they were very fortunate to have had him to lecture to them that evening. No doubt it was the case that the rank and file did not always get the distinction to which they were entitled, but they would all of them rejoice in finding the head of their department and his services appreciated not only in Europe but in other parts of the world. In reference to Sir Thomas's remark about the line which went across the desert in India, and finally turned out to be a paying investment, it occurred to him that the line was probably guaranteed by the State, and the point of his criticism was that the British Government was never likely to guarantee any strategic line again, and that British capital was getting shyer and shyer of such undertakings.

He asked them all to join with him in a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Thomas for the admirable paper they had so much enjoyed. (Applause.)

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said they had listened to an unusually interesting lecture, and, in congratulating Sir Thomas, he thought they had more reason to congratulate the East India Association upon having secured the delivery of that paper. He wished they had more lectures of that description. The paper contained important points which were highly suggestive, although they were cleverly treated in a delicate way, which had a significant bearing on the future of the British Indian Empire. They had been discussed at some length, and there was not much room for further discussion. On his own behalf, as well as on behalf of the audience for whom he spoke, he would like to say how greatly they had enjoyed listening to such an excellent paper.

SIR LESLEY PROBYN asked those present to join with him in a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Sir Mortimer Durand, for the admirable way in which he had conducted the meeting.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, November 13, 1911, a paper was read by Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., on "Compulsory Education for India in the Light of Western Experience." Mr. Joseph Hiam Levy was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Colonel Charles Edward Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., General F. P. Luard, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Madame Lorenzo Garreau, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. M. P. Singh, Mrs. Mason, Mr. Thomas Menezes, Mr. B. G. Pahlajaney, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mr. M. A. Hamid, Mr. S. S. Alam, Dr. Edward Nundy, Mrs. Barker, Mr. S. A. Aziz, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Weilder, Mr. G. Dene, Mr. F. Kettle, Mr. H. K. Mitra, Mr. S. S. Saraf, Mr. V. L. Ethiraj, Mr. B. C. Sen, Mr. B. M. Sen, Mr. R. S. Dadochunj, Mr. A. P. Sabavala, Mr. H. A. Talcherkar, Mr. Sada Rama Thind, Mr. A. Haston, Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore, Mr. Claude White, C.I.E., Mr. B. R. Saberwal, Mr. K. S. Jassawalla, Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. H. K. De, Mr. F. C. Hodgson, Mr. Ali Mohammed, and Mr. J. B. Pennington, Acting Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, when my friend, Sir Roland Wilson, asked me to come here to-day to preside at this meeting, I agreed to do so with very great pleasure, not only because of my very great interest in the people of India—an interest which I have felt for a great number of years, and which has been reciprocated, I am very glad to say, by numerous Indians themselves—but I was also pleased to do so in order to show my appreciation and gratitude for the very great good Sir Roland Wilson has done by his public-spirited behaviour, especially in championing truths which are not, for the moment, very popular. I need scarcely say that applies to the full to the subject that we are going to deal with.

this evening. He is going to take up what at present is a very unpopular side of the matter, and I can only hope that you will listen to him with that attention which I am sure his paper will deserve.

The paper was then read.

**The CHAIRMAN:** Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all much indebted to Sir Roland for his very able paper. For myself, I must say that I am in entire agreement with him in his main contention, and have only two small criticisms to make. In the first place, on page 18, he has a reference to the Revised Code. He says: "All these mischiefs were aggravated while the Revised Code was in force, and the teacher's income depended on the number of scholars whom he could manage to drive," etc. Now, that is a mistake. The Revised Code never made any such provision. That Code instituted what was called payment by results, and I must say that I consider that a thoroughly sound principle to go upon. If the State is to pay for anything at all, it ought to pay for actual results. I quite agree that the way in which those results were tested might have been a wooden and unintelligent way of measuring them; but if you depend on State agencies, it seems to me you are likely to get something of that kind. Still, when you go away from payment by results, the basis of payment becomes vague and arbitrary, and you really do not know what you are doing, or for what you are paying. It is a mistake to say that the teacher's payment depended on the results under the Revised Code; there was no provision for anything of the kind. What did happen was that some of the managers of schools gave a share in the grant to the teachers as part of emoluments; but that was outside the Code altogether, and was simply a matter for the managers to deal with.

Then on page 3, line 5, I find there is the word "gratuitous," and I am going to say—and I am sure Sir Roland will agree with me—that the word ought to be altered. We are told about "the transition from a system of merely State-aided and State-inspected elementary education to one which is directly State-provided, compulsory, and *gratuitous*." Now, why, when I pay for a thing voluntarily out of my own pocket, should it be considered payment; but when it is taken from me by force, perhaps for something I do not want and that I have not asked for, perhaps for something that is not given entirely to me, but is shared between myself and some other persons whom I have not nominated, and perhaps devoted to something wholly outside myself, why should it be called gratuitous? I really do not know how this use of the word could be sustained, and would suggest to the lecturer that, if the paper be reprinted, he should substitute the word "tax-supported" for "gratuitous," for that is really what it means.

Lord Rosebery has recently been making a speech about another institution which is "gratuitous"; he has told us of the libraries which are supported in that way, and, as some of our people would say, "for use and not for profit." He tells us that they should not be called libraries at all, but book cemeteries; and we have these tax-supported book cemeteries with volumes accumulating which nobody wants, and which in a few years

will reach enormous proportions, and as to which nobody can tell how they are to be eliminated. The moment you step outside the commercial supply of things, and adopt this plan of tax-support, there is no means whatever of deciding what is of worth, what shall be kept and what shall not be kept, what shall be purchased and what shall not be purchased.

Well, that experiment is being tried here in various directions, and its full results are yet to be seen. But England is a comparatively rich country, and the evil effects of extravagance are not easily traced ; but why this experiment should be taken by us and transplanted to a country whose people are individually poor, like those of India, and why they should be launched by us into this expense, I really do not understand. Is the average income of these people so large that they can have this matter imposed upon them without serious results ? And, mind you, it is to be imposed upon them, not as Englishmen are imposing it on themselves, but from without and by an alien people, who widely differ from them in religion, and who will necessarily find it most difficult to deal with the problems arising out of education in India.

The fact is, that what India wants is not so much literary education for her masses as a wide diffusion of knowledge, and especially of elementary economic knowledge, which would do more to raise her people than half a century of mere schooling. (Hear, hear.) What the people of India want is what any good economist could teach in an hour's lecture, provided they would listen and take to heart what he would have to say to them, and then carry it out in their daily lives. That is the knowledge they want—not mere literary education. For my part, I look with great hope to the future of the Indian people; but if they want rapidly to advance in the scale of prosperity they must put away mere dreams.

I recollect some years ago, when the Revised Code came into operation, a friend came to me and said : "Mr. Levy, what the people want is not so much the three R's, but a fourth R—Reasoning." We want to teach the people how to draw correct inferences from what they see about them, and that may be done, and has been done, by men who have no literary education. Of the Barons who signed Magna Charta there were many who could not write, and had to make their mark ; to-day there are many men who can write very well, but they cannot make their mark ! Education may become a superstition with you ; but I only hope that, if you indulge in this superstition in your dealings with the people of India, you will take great care that it is not done at their expense. We must allow the widest possible discussion before anything like a compulsory system is imposed on the people of India.

May I express the hope that we shall have a good debate ? I shall be glad if any of you will send up your cards to me if you desire to take part in the discussion. We shall be very glad to have the opposition side fully represented. I will call upon Mr. Thorburn to open the debate.

MR. THORBURN said that the thoughtful and instructive paper just read dealt more with the evolution of the system of compulsory education in this country, and the good and evil which flowed from it, than with the question of the introduction of that system into India. Mr. Gokhale, the

protagonist of the movement in its favour in India, seemed to base his argument on a sort of syllogism. What all Western nations did must be right; they had all adopted compulsion, therefore India should do so also. Were fundamental conditions similar in India and, say, England, the argument might be good; but they were not. Contrast England with India. We lived in two small islands, some 45 millions rich, homogeneous, highly concentrated people, paying a revenue which would soon reach £200,000,000, 30 millions of which we spent yearly upon education. On the other hand, India was a continent with over 300 millions of inhabitants, individually poor, with an average income of a little more than a penny a day, and a revenue less than half of what ours would soon be. Again, an English boy was perfectly useless as a breadwinner—except, perhaps, as a golf-caddy—until seventeen or eighteen years of age, but an Indian boy began work at the age of seven, at which age he was able to attend to all sorts of duties of an agricultural nature, and was thus a considerable asset in the family at the very time when he should be going to school. Who was to compel the little breadwinner to go to school, and who was to pay for his schooling? Compulsory mass education for India was impossible, because the cost would be prohibitive. If 10 per cent. of the population attended school at a cost of two pennies a day each, the whole revenue of India would hardly meet the expenditure. Apparently Mr. Gokhale would be content, at first, to introduce compulsion only in the urban localities; but the people in the towns had already taken full advantage of the present educational system, and could now well look after themselves. The people to help were the rural masses, the peasants, and the Government had the means in their own hands. He suggested that in every district a certain sum of money should be devoted to agricultural scholarships. By no other means could education be made attractive, or even possible, for the masses. Let the Government allocate at first a small sum, say 20 lacs, for this purpose, and go on until, say, 200 lacs of rupees were so spent. As a result of that system, in his opinion, the people would be far better equipped to hold their own in the battles of life than under the impracticable compulsory scheme they were considering.

MR. ALI MAHOMMED regretted that he had not heard the whole of the paper, and when asked to take part in the discussion he wanted to know if the paper was in opposition to Mr. Gokhale's Bill, and was told that it was neither in favour of nor altogether in opposition to it, but simply intended for the purpose of raising discussion. That being so, as an Indian, he asked them to put forth all their powers in favour of the Bill. What would have been the condition of England to-day if compulsory education had not been imposed on the people? The absence of education meant ignorance, prejudice, and superstition, and it could not be to the glory of England to rule under such conditions. Was it not much better to make the people realize the benefits of good government? They were in the hands of England, and having learnt and studied English history, they wanted the same institutions as England now enjoyed, and how could that come about except through education? Only such despotic countries

as Russia were opposed to education, and he was proud of the fact that England was the land of the free. He would certainly be surprised if he heard anyone in England oppose education; how such sentiments could be uttered in this country he could not understand, neither could he conceive it possible for England to say that education was not a good thing for India. Was not India of great importance to England? Lord Salisbury had said, when Mr. Gladstone was defeated on the Home Rule question, that he was opposed to Home Rule because if it were granted to Ireland, India would ask for it the next day, and if it were granted to India, what would be the position of England? From a first-rate power she would fall to a third-rate power! He was stating facts, and facts were stubborn things, and evidently not very palatable to some people. If they desired to treat India with justice they should give them all the education they could, and it would not cost England a single penny; whatever it cost they would pay ungrudgingly. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria had said that England was bound by the same obligations towards India as they were bound to all her other subjects, and that obligation should be faithfully carried out; but he ventured to suggest that at the present moment it was not being so carried out.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said that he desired to ask a question, and perhaps the lecturer would deal with it in his final remarks. It was stated in the paper that voluntaryism in England would necessitate the disestablishment of the Church. He did not quite follow that remark. It was also stated that Dissenters complained of their money being diverted to the support of Church schools. He believed that about half the population of this country belonged to the Church of England, and comprised the most wealthy portion of the community, and therefore paid most of the rates. How could it be said, then, that the money of Dissenters went to support Church schools? Lord Hugh Cecil had made a suggestion in the House of Commons that the rates from both sections of the community should be ear-marked, but the Nonconformists would not agree. Again, it was said that there was no choice between voluntaryism and going back to the tyranny of the Tudor and Stuart times. He would suggest a third alternative in the form of "right of entry," which he understood worked without friction in Western Canada. This gave various denominational teachers the right to enter the schools and instruct the children in the same religion as their parents, leaving the secular education to the State. He strongly demurred to the statement that "it is agreed on all hands that the instruction given in the compulsory schools (of India), as in all existing Government schools, must be purely secular." There were people of the same opinion as the lecturer, who thought education was not merely confined to imparting information, but extended to the building up of character, and they believed that this could not be done without teaching religion. In proof of that he would read them the orders of two distinguished Indian Princes, to show that they thought it necessary for all forms of religion to be taught in the schools, so that each child might be taught the religion of its parents. The first was an extract from instructions by the Mahratja of Mysore stating the time to be allowed for such

teaching, and the second from those of the Maharajah of Cashmere. The same suggestion had been made with regard to the Hindoo University which it was proposed to establish at Benares.

MR. H. A. TALCHERKAR said that certain statements had been made about the poverty of India, and the taxation it would be necessary to resort to if compulsory education were introduced. He suggested there was ample scope for parsimony. As an Indian he thought it was a great shame and a disgrace that an enlightened country like England should keep the Indian people in Ignorance; they wanted compulsory education by all means. He had travelled in Japan and in America, and had seen the wonderful progress education had made; he had also worked among the masses in India, and therefore knew how much they were handicapped. The introduction of the three R's would be of immense service to the nation. Education, for one thing, would prevent the so-called mischievous people from misleading the illiterate masses, because they would then be enabled to understand for themselves the good that British rule had done to India. Mr. Gokhale would have accomplished an excellent work if he succeeded in introducing compulsory education, because, where education had already been introduced amongst the masses in the cities, efficiency had been wonderfully improved.

MR. R. E. FORREST said that this was an important subject, and his mind was wholly on the side of the Indian people. He thought the people should not be taxed any more than at present, and no compulsion should be put upon them. He could look back to the year 1854, when he saw the beginnings of the Education Department, and he was of opinion there had been a wonderful development since then in education. He advocated that they should let that state of things continue to grow, and let the people work out matters for themselves. One of the most remarkable educational agencies in that country was a voluntary one; he referred to the Aligarh College, which it was now proposed to convert into a University. In many of the plans put forward for the establishment of a large number of schools little account was taken of the cost; but inefficient education was not required at any cost. As to the addition of an extra "R"—Reasoning—he thought that was in contradiction to the Chairman's previous remark that literary education was not wanted, but technical education. The imagination, in India, was strong enough; it was reason that required to be evoked and strengthened—not by specialized, but by general education.

MR. W. P. W. PRILLIMORE said that he did not profess to be an expert on Indian topics, but there was one remark he desired to make, as many of the speakers seemed to misapprehend the import of the address. Briefly, the point was whether compulsory education was good for any country, and he was inclined to think the lecturer held the view that compulsion had not been a good thing in England, and that we should be a good deal better off if we severed education, as religion was being severed, from the control of the State, which was apt to stereotype all forms of education. It was doubtful whether we were right in imposing a compulsory system on India, which was, individually, much poorer than

England, in the hope that they might attain the same standard as this country had done. Was it right to take money from the pockets of the tax-payer and expend it as might be directed by the bureaucracy of another country? It was a general question, and was not really specially Indian. Again, he asked, was it right that they should force education upon all sections of the community, utterly regardless of their own wishes in the matter?

The LECTURER, in replying, said: I must first refer to the correction by our Chairman of my statement concerning the Revised Code. He spent many years in the Education Department, and can speak as an expert as to the working of the Code. I gather, however, that he admits that the system of payment by results did involve, as was obvious from the reports of a number of inspectors, great hardships on some of the children, who were, as a matter of fact, pressed in an unintelligent manner, well or ill, to produce the required results before an examiner on a particular day. Mr. Levy says it is part of the inevitable result of the mechanical operation of a great State machine. I agree with him that the relief from over-pressure affected by abolishing the system of payment by results has probably been at the cost of some general slackness and consequent waste of the tax-payers' money. My position is equally supported whether the evil takes one form or the other, because I am opposed to State education in all forms.

Mr. Thorburn, agreeing with my paper so far as it opposes compulsory education, suggests the granting of agricultural scholarships; whether that means scholarships in agriculture or scholarships in general subjects for agricultural people I do not know; but, at all events, I submit that this also—although better than universal education—cannot be approved of, because it is on the principle of "giving to him that hath." The effect of such a system would be to tax the poor and stupid for the benefit of those who are rich and clever, because the richer of the peasants will be able to get those scholarships at the expense of the weaker and less intelligent. That is my position throughout, that the grant-in-aid system is a system of giving to him that hath, and the further it goes the more unequal it becomes, and it is hardest on those who most need assistance. Compulsory and tax-supported education is exempt from that evil, but involves far greater evils in the hardship it imposes on the various parties concerned, and in the enormous cost involved in making it universal and efficient. Apropos of that I must thank Mr. Forrest for his remarks, which are very much to the point. I agree with him that inefficient education is worse than no education at all; it stupefies the child, gives him a hatred for learning, and a hatred for the masters, and turns him out a less civilized being than if he had been left to work in the fields. I cannot accept Mr. Thorburn's proposal, which is only one variety of the grant-in-aid system which has been tried in England, and which has so far failed that we have found it necessary to go on to the system of compulsory education.

As to the remarks of Mr. Ali Mahammed, unfortunately he laboured under the disadvantage of not hearing what was said. I hope he will read

the paper as it will be published, and he will then see that I had anticipated his argument. The whole purport of my paper was to show that we had tried compulsory education in England, and it is because we have so tried it that some of us are not at all satisfied that we have got any advantage from it. He looks at the prosperity and civilization of this country, and imagines that it is all due to this particular panacea. I have endeavoured to show in my paper, as he will see, that a vast number of other causes go to the present comparatively happy condition of things in England, and that education, in the real sense of the term, was in process of advancement irrespective of the intervention of the State, and if it had been left alone would have covered the whole ground in a much better way. Of course, we who hold these opinions are in a small minority, but I hope a growing minority, and I trust that when he goes back to India he will be able to report that there are a few eccentric people in this country who do not "accept this panacea."

As to Mr. Moore's first point, that he did not see why voluntaryism should involve the disestablishment of the Church, surely the two things are in diametrical opposition. The State Church is itself an educational body, and its teaching is given (so far as it is a State Church) at the expense of the public (though to prove that tithes are public property would require a long argument) and under State control. In a slow way it is now approaching the condition of a voluntary institution, and it may be that we shall one day find it virtually disestablished without being able to point to any particular Act of Parliament as the one by which the change was effected. Then as to his practical proposal that in India the religious difficulty should be solved by what is called the right of entry. Well, there is one very forcible objection to that proceeding from the teachers themselves. The professional teacher who has control of the children during the principal part of the day, and is responsible for their discipline, will find himself seriously hampered if in the first hour of the day a strange teacher—who may be a competent teacher of religious doctrine, but may know nothing about the management of children in the school—comes and talks to them on an entirely different subject before they begin the real work of the day. But a still more fatal objection is that it involves the splitting up of education into compartments. Religion ought not to be taught according to a special time-table, but should be conveyed through all the other lessons. I believe we shall destroy the true idea of education if we attempt to separate the teaching of religious doctrine from the other things.

Mr. Talcherkar has described the wonderful progress made in Japan and the other countries he has visited. That may be so, but the same considerations apply there as those that I have indicated with respect to the apparent advance of England in prosperity since our measures of State education were introduced. I say *post hoc*, not *propter hoc*. There are hundreds of other agencies at work capable of supplying an entirely different explanation of that prosperity. Lastly, I hope it will be clearly understood that I mean no opposition generally to the ideals of Indian reformers such as Mr. Gokhale. I am, perhaps, as compared with most

Englishmen, an advanced Home Ruler in regard to India, and the more prominence is given to educated Indians in the Government of India the better I shall be pleased; but even they are not infallible, and I do think that in making this demand, which, as I am well aware, comes from them more than from the English rulers, they are making a grievous mistake. They must remember they are only a portion of the Indian people and not the whole, and, as a rule, they are the product of English education. They will feel the tax less than the poorer classes, and therefore they are not, in this particular matter, the best persons to say where the shoe pinches. If they put themselves into the shoes of the Indian peasantry, they will see that the so-called "boon" will be at the expense of the poorest part of the population.

In conclusion, if I am in order, I beg to propose a vote of thanks to our Chairman, who has added very much to the interest of the meeting by his own speech, and also by the strictness with which he has kept his eye on the wateb.

SIR LESLEY PROBYN seconded, and at the same time proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by SIR ROBERT FULTON, and both were carried unanimously.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY.

SIR,

Sir James Wilson's paper on Indian Currency Policy and the discussion upon it which appeared in your last two issues, furnish very interesting reading. The paper is an excellent one, but Sir James seems to me to be mistaken in some of his views. Mr. Reginald Murray pointed out the danger to Indian trade of Government being unable to give rupees freely in payment of Council bills, or in exchange for gold; but no one seems to have challenged the truth of the *redundant rupee* idea, which Sir James in one part of his paper expressed thus: "When trade is brisk a larger number of rupees is required; when trade is slack a smaller number is needed, and if the number actually in circulation is more than is required at the time there is a danger that they might become relatively cheap, and that their exchange value would fall below 1s. 4d."

I do not know whether this redundant rupee idea is still regarded with favour in Simla. It was so once, and in 1898 the Government of India went so far as to propose to the Secretary of State that rupees should be withdrawn from circulation and sold as bullion. Fortunately, the proposal was rejected. The same notion afterwards led the Government to recoin light weight rupees, not into rupees, but into those half rupees to which Mr. Murray referred as

having been, at one time, alone available for issue against gold. The people refused to take them; the Bank of Bengal repaid them into the Currency Office; the most of them had eventually to be coined into rupees.

The redundant rupee theory seems to be based upon the admitted effect of a *forced* issue of token money. Where such an issue has been made the unwilling recipients of the tokens have been anxious, but unable to convert them into some other form of money of full intrinsic value. India has never made a forced issue of rupees, and has coined them only under compulsion by the public. It has been rupees and notes, easily converted into rupees, that have been wanted for the purpose of effecting exchanges of commodities, and the commercial anxiety has been lest the Government should not coin enough of rupees.

The exchange value of the rupee depends, I think, not upon the quantity in circulation, but upon the foreign demand for rupees. This foreign demand depends on the balance of trade which foreign countries have to pay to India in the money which she requires, namely, rupees. When the Mints were open the supply was unlimited, and India's creditors could get as many of them as they desired by shipping silver bars to Bombay and sending them to the Mint. The exchange value of the rupee consequently varied with the gold price of silver. But after the Mints were closed the rupee became a patented article, obtainable only from the patentee, the Secretary of State, who, as long as he did not *force* them upon the market, could practically fix their value. The risk of a reversal of the balance of trade has been fully realized, and to meet it the Gold Reserve was formed, which so admirably answered its purpose during the trying crisis of 1907. In 1908-09 I see that there was a return from circulation of sixteen crores, which may seem a large quantity; but I also notice that in the following year more than fourteen crores of this was absorbed by the country, and the balance was cleared off before the year 1910-11 ended.

It is, of course, conceivable that a time may come when India may have become so wealthy that rupees may be considered by some people to be inconvenient coins, and they may prefer to use a good deal of gold. Rupees may then, perhaps, be found to be in excess of the needs of the country : but such a situation can only arise very gradually, and can be gradually dealt with. Or a time may come when a wealthy India may have surplus capital, and wish to invest it abroad. This would create a demand for gold ; but the prospect of this seems very distant, and will, no doubt, be gradually dealt with.

Yours faithfully,

A. F. Cox, C.S.I.

MEADS, EASTBOURNE.

Indian C.S. (retired).

*November, 1911.*

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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WM. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

1. *The New Spirit in Egypt*, by H. HAMILTON FYFE. This book, dedicated to Lord Northcliffe, does not impress us with its profundity. The first few chapters are taken up with good descriptions—the book is written throughout in excellent "journalese"—of modern Egypt, its variety and its contrasts. The latter part is filled with dissertations on the political unrest, and chiefly in criticism of the late Sir Eldon Gorst. The writer says, "I do not set myself up as a critic of the British Agent; my criticism would have no value." But unfortunately he did not act up to his words, with the result that his book is now rather unpleasing *vieux jeu*. His comments on the education difficulties, and the description of the Sudan and Khartum, which he calls "The Garden City of Africa," will, however, be read with real pleasure, as well as his praises of the "stimulating atmosphere of the Gordon College." Another chapter, "Some Errors We Have Made," may be read with interest also.—A. F. S.

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CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

2. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, by the late JOHN T. PLATTS and GEORGE S. A. RANKING. This is by far the best text-book that has up to the present come under our notice, as it gives in outline so complete a view

of the grammar that it will not be necessary for students to refer to other works, unless it be intended to make the language the subject of most minute and special study. It is alike practical and scientific; in the selection and arrangement of material the aim has been to make it specially useful for the purpose of teaching, rather than as a formal exposition of the science of grammar. Used with some good conversational book, it will go far towards enabling the student to master the peculiarities of the idiom, and thus serve as a stepping-stone to the enjoyment of some of the great works of a language so abundantly rich in literature as is the Persian. It should be borne in mind that apart from Persia, the Persian language is the medium of official and polite intercourse in India, Turkey, Afghanistan, and throughout Central Asia generally.

The book is divided into two parts—the first being a revision and enlargement of Platts' Persian Grammar, and the second a most valuable treatise on Syntax by Mr. Ranking.

The alphabet is admirably arranged, the letters in their unconnected and connected form being most clearly shown; a great boon, as those who have studied the language will testify. The rules as to pronunciation are precise and plain; and there is a complete avoidance of those complicated attempts to convey the exact pronunciation which usually perplex the learner. Whenever the corresponding English equivalents are given for Persian characters, the student, without the aid of a teacher, will find himself able to pronounce such phrases sufficiently well to be understood by a native. It would have facilitated the student's task had this practice been adopted throughout the work, at least in the case of sentences illustrating the rules.

Part II., as we have said, deals with Persian Syntax, and we have derived special pleasure therefrom, particularly with the section dealing with Sentence Construction. The sentences to illustrate the rules are very well chosen, being chiefly of a practical nature.

It would have enhanced the value of the book had a vocabulary been added, sufficiently comprehensive to include the Persian words appearing in the text.

Altogether the book is a most scholarly one, singularly free from errors, and we warmly recommend it to those who desire to study the language, a knowledge of which is becoming increasingly valuable in view of the economic progress now taking place in Persia and contiguous countries on the Persian Gulf.—J. A. LEE.

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CROSBY, LOCKWOOD AND SON ; LONDON.

3. *Urdu Reader for Military Students*, by MAJOR F. R. H. CHAPMAN. This book is a successor to Major Chapman's "Urdu Reader for Beginners." It is a useful adjunct to an Urdu grammar, but can hardly be studied by itself. It consists of some notes on how to read and pronounce Urdu, of a list of useful words, of a chapter on grammatical exercises, and of a selection of extracts which is divided into three parts. The whole is followed by a good vocabulary. The weakest part of the book seems to be Part V., the historical selections. Major Chapman does not say where they come from ; but though their Hindustani may be good, those relating to Indian history are in some places incorrect as to their facts, and in others are uninteresting. For instance, the account of the Emperor Bābur makes the mistake (also made by Ferishta) of ascribing the disinterested conduct of a sovereign of Fargbāna with respect to a caravan which was overwhelmed with snow, to Bābur, when Bābur himself tells us that the credit of it belongs to his father, 'Umar Sheikh. Ferishta's error on this point was noted long ago by Erskine. In the account of Akbar, we are not told how his name should be pronounced, and so students might naturally pronounce it Ākbar instead of Ukbār. We are told, too, that his son Jahāngī kept the empire intact, which is incorrect, for he lost Candahar.

In the article on Shāh Jahān and the English, we are told what seems to be the mythical story of Gabriel Boughton's cure of Jahān Arā. Chronology does not support it, as a note by Mr. Irvine, in the first volume of his Manucci (p. 219), shows. If there is any truth in the story, it probably relates to the fire at Sultan Sbajāain's palace at Rājmabāl. As told in the Reader, it is not even mentioned that Jahān Arā's illness was the result of an accident by fire. The article on Clive tells us that he was a poor man's son. His father was not overburdened with riches, but he was hardly what a native of India would call a *gharib ādmī*. In the same article the old blunder is repeated of describing Om-chand as a Bengali.—H. BEVERIDGE.

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, AND CO., LTD.;  
LONDON.

4. *Hebrew Satire*, by JOSEPH CHOTZNER, PH.D. Dr. Chotzner appeals to a certain class of readers in his "Hebrew Satire," and the appearance of this, his latest volume, recalls with pleasant interest its twin sister, his former work on "Hebrew Humour." Dr. Chotzner shows in his various writings that he has read a good deal of literature in different languages, but he is at his best when he endeavours to present that side of his reading which may be said to run on the parallel lines between humour and satire—of course in the Hebrew language. The vista in his "Satire" is fairly wide, practically from 1300 downwards, but we should have liked to see more of Talmudic times. It must naturally be left to an author's discretion to select which examples he pleases, and we therefore do not wish to cavil, or to be ungrateful, when we say that we miss from the book what we consider the finest instance of Alcharizi's satire—that is, if it could be translated into English so as to preserve the force of the original.

We think some of the Hebrew epigrams well chosen

and well rendered, and we will close this brief notice to the reading public with the advice given in the form of a "moral" towards the end of the book: "Be satisfied with what you possess" in the volume before you.—X.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.; LONDON, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA.

5. *Rare Days in Japan*, by GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, LL.D. Illustrated. This is one of the numerous books that have been written by travellers and sojourners in Japan. The author has been persuaded by friends to set down his impressions of the country and its inhabitants from a personal point of view. There is in this book but scant departure from the ordinary routine of information—a rush to the mountains, a peep into the theatres, admiration for the geisha, her fun and fascinations, a discourse on the lovable children, a pæan of praise for the beauty of the country as well as for the versatile capacity of the Japanese artists, together with other items. Interesting accounts, however, of the audiences accorded to the author by H.I.M. are charmingly described. The quiet courtesy of the Emperor of Japan, in which his appreciation of all that is undertaken by foreigners for the welfare of the country and the people under his rule, is most delicately manifested on these occasions. Mr. Ladd has for some time devoted himself to the training and education of young and earnest students—a labour that could not fail to win him both royal favour and private friendships.

Mr. Ladd's book will prove useful to those who are contemplating a first visit to Japan. It is pleasant reading, well printed, and prettily illustrated. With his personal every-day experiences, the author has supplemented his chapters with reliable information on many points, historical, traditional, and general. The traveller will do well to study the pages of "*Rare Days in Japan*," if he wishes to appreciate the many attractions to be found in the Land of the Gods.—S.

6. *Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797 to 1910*, by H. R. JAKES. It was in 1797, as we read, in this well-compiled series of chapters, that Charles Grant laid his "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain" before the Court of Directors of the East India Company. He noted the misery of both Hindus and Muhammadans, and suggested education as a remedy. His measure is therefore taken as a period to commence this sketch, although Warren Hastings had already shown that he, too, saw the necessity of education by founding the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781. The seed was sown, and a Sanskrit college was established in 1791. Lord Minto in 1811 animadverted strongly on the decline of science and art in India, and a lakh of rupees was three years later set apart for educational purposes. The Missionaries' Schools were also set up, and they in their turn prompted the Theistic movement, and through Ram Mohan Roy, David Hare, and Sir E. Hyde East (all with different aims) the Hindu College was opened in 1817. The education was based on a knowledge of English. Similar although less extensive teaching establishments soon existed in Bombay and Madras; then in 1835 Macaulay (who is now regarded as the founder of English education in India) wrote a minute in favour of English *versus* Oriental languages as the vehicle of education, and this was acted upon by Government. The writer of this valuable booklet points out that without Macaulay's dictum the study of English was bound to come, and though he may have hastened it unduly he did not inaugurate (as so often has been stated) any new movement. The advance from 1835 to 1854 was great. In the latter year, by a despatch, educational advantages were greatly extended, and the study of the vernacular languages insisted on. To this the Indian universities owe their origin. In this work we learn all the early and the later history of their progress. The University Reform of 1901-1906 is touched on, the High English Schools, Mass Education, and the work of

educational departments as well, so that we get a complete review of what the Government has done for Indian education. The writer concludes that it has done right—that the decision in favour of English teaching in 1835 was the right decision, that the universities were rightly founded in spite of well-reasoned objections. He mentions other less satisfactory administration, but denies that education is entirely responsible for the unrest in Bengal and Bomhay, and thinks that to ascribe the disorders to the "student class" is a mistake, as "only a small proportion of them are to be characterized as students in the sense ordinarily recognized by those connected with education"; and states that "a great wrong has in public opinion been done in this matter." He, however, by no means undervalues the manifest imperfections that still exist in the educational scheme through the want of many moral forces to help to mould the students' character as it might be moulded both for the benefit of himself and for the State.—A. F. S.

#### S. K. LAHIRI AND CO.; CALCUTTA.

7. *Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, by F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT, I.C.S. Mr. Bradley-Birt has made this book, although the subject is very different, as attractive as he has made his former books. This is saying a good deal, but what subject could the author not make attractive? In this little work, which contains the biographies of twelve famous natives of Bengal, six Hindus and six Muhammadans, he has dealt faithfully with the interesting careers of "the social reformer and the merchant prince, the religious revivalist and the philanthropist, the government official and the educationalist," as well as the ruling chief and the self-made merchant prince. Among the chosen twelve are (to name but a few at random) Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the first Theistic Church of India, and the first Brahman of modern times to cross the "Black Water," Keshub Chandra Sen, his

successor as a reformer, Maharaja Durga Charan Law, the merchant prince, and the philanthropist, Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore. Nor are the names of the Muhammadans he has selected as representative less noteworthy than these Hindu worthies, although, perhaps, less known to western ears. We find in the number Haji Mahomed Mohsin (whose affection for his step-sister and *vice versa* reads like an idyll), the founder of the Imamhara, Nawah Amir Ali Khan, "manager" of Oude, Nawab Abdul Latis, the educationalist, and Nawah Sri Syed Hassan Ali, head of the Muhammadan community in Bengal. Everyone who reads this book will be pleased with the way it is written and instructed by its contents.—A. F. S.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

8. *Sport on the Nilgiris and in Wynnaad*, by F. W. F. FLETCHER.—It is difficult to be both intelligent and original when writing on the innumerable books on sport in the East with which we are deluged; still, one can say that as Mr. Fletcher has found a tract of country on which no sporting history has been written before, we heartily welcome his work on the Nilgiris and the Wynnaad. When Octacamund was constituted (in 1827) "the sanatorium of Madras" it was in the midst of a country which was—in the writer's words—the Elysian Fields of the *Shikari*. "Folks walked or rode, and a carriage was unknown. Then samhur roamed over every hill, and harboured in every *shola*. Ibex were not far to seek, and the cheery crow of the junglecock marked the opening and closing of the day. Elephants and hison were found on the Kundahs; while tigers, panthers, and bears were common all over the hills." Civilization has altered this greatly. The increase of population has driven game back. Peafowl and hares are extinct on the plateau. The introduction of coffee and rubber cultivation has further changed the conditions of life and caused the retreat of the wilder

animals. The writer makes an interesting hook on this subject, and there are still plenty of animals for his gun and pen. Elephants, tigers, leopards, hisoo, wild goats, sambur, and muntjac all fall within his theme. He tells us details about their distribution and increase or decrease, as well as tales of sport which will make this hook desirable to any hunter. Nor does he forget small game, which include many kinds of esculent snipe, and he gives also a list of both the mammalia and the game birds which still inhabit this former paradise of sport.—A. F. S.

9. *India and the Durbar*.—This excellent book is the enlarged reprint of the articles which were part of the 1911 Empire Day Edition of the *Times*. It is intended to instruct its readers on Indian conditions in not too technical a manner, and it well fulfils its intention. The subjects treated of include almost every noteworthy topic in regard to India. Burma and its development and the attractions of Ceylon are not forgotten either. The chapters on the two Empires, the King and his Indian peoples, British control, Delhi and previous Durbars, will be read with special interest just now, but the excellent papers on social changes, industrial development, education and finance are equally worthy of study. The ethnographical notes are very well written (though Mr. Thurstoo does on one occasion place "female infanticide" perilously near the disappearance of "picturesque survivals"!) and should be noted with care. Health, travelling and sport in India are all touched on, in their turn, in this remarkably well compiled work.—A. F. S.

#### S. MARLBOROUGH AND CO.; LONDON.

10. *Burmese Self-Taught, with Phonetic Pronunciation*, by R. F. ST. A. ST. JOHN, Hon. M.A., Oxon. This handbook, primarily intended for tourists and temporary visitors to Burma, is also designed for the use of students, missionaries,

officials, and others whom business or pleasure bring into touch with the Burmese. For this purpose it provides a classified series of useful practical words and sentences on the various topics likely to be required by most visitors and residents generally, and is arranged in three columns—the first in English; the second, the translation of the latter into Burmese in the vernacular characters; and the third the phonetic pronunciation according to Thimms' system; and to this are added the outlines of Burmese grammar. It is claimed for the book that "a tourist or trader with no previous knowledge of the language can readily make himself understood among the Burmese by this volume." Certainly, anyone who masters this book will be much more likely to make himself understood colloquially than had he merely the manuals of Judson, Sloane, Lonsdale and the earlier writers to assist him. The present writer would have warmly welcomed such a work on his first arrival in Burma; and for want of any such had, like many others, to make up lists and sentences laboriously for himself. The authors long acquaintance with Burma, and experience as a teacher of the language of that country in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are sufficient guarantee that Mr. St. John has produced a thoroughly trustworthy and practical work. This language, on account of its tonal system and otherwise complicated phonetics, presents exceptional difficulty to those who would seek to master it without a teacher. Indeed, Mr. St. John recommends the student "to avail himself of every opportunity of getting native tutorial assistance," and adds that "what is generally known as romanization—*i.e.*, the transliteration into Roman characters—when applied to Burmese does not answer, so there are many systems of representing the sounds of the language in use—namely those of Judson, Latter, Chase, Tawsein Ko and the Government or Hunterian." So Mr. St. John now adds still another, which has to be mastered before the romanized sentences can be pronounced. Under these circumstances the addition of the Burmese

text is a necessity for those desirous of a more thorough knowledge of the tongue.

One result of the village schools in Burma having been for long in the hands of Buddhist monks is seen in the Buddhist form of popular polite address. When one addresses a Burman, if his position in society is known, he should be given the title which denotes his official or other position; but if this be not known and the speaker wishes to be polite he may entitle the gentleman, amongst other honorifics, "Supporter of a monastery" ("Kyowng-ah-mäh"), or "Founder of a pagoda" ("Hpähyah-tahgäh"), or "Object of reverence" ("Hkln-byah").

L. A. WADDELL.

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

11. *Ancient Hebrew Proverbs*, compiled by REV. A. COHEN.—Politics and literature frequently intersect, and the "Wisdom of the East" series does much to bring East and West nearer to each other; this is a distinct gain, not only to literature, but to political considerations. The compilation by the Rev. A. Cohen of "Ancient Jewish Proverbs" is interesting reading and will come as an eye-opener to many. Proverbs are frequently more than the mere phrases of a people; they are often wisdom in tabloid form, and express practical guidance to those who would be guided by them.

The parallels from other languages given by Mr. Cohen in this publication enhance the value of this little work, as does also the author's dedication "to the revered memory of my teacher, Michael Friedländer."—Z.

12. *The Ideals of Indian Art*, by E. B. HAVELL.—The writer of this beautifully-illustrated book has undertaken to explain Indian Art to Western minds. Indian sculpture seems strange to the European, because he whose art has always been more or less inspired by nature, and who limited himself to suggesting the spiritual by its outward

and visible signs, cannot but feel estranged from the often monstrous shapes of Hindu deities. The Indian artist's point of view is different to ours. Following the advice of his sages, he depends upon spiritual vision only, and not upon the appearance of objects perceived by human senses "His main endeavour is always directed towards the realization of an idea reaching through the finite to the infinite, convinced always that through the constant effort to express spiritual origin of all earthly beauty, the human mind will take in more and more of the perfect beauty of divinity." A knowledge of Indian philosophy and religion is therefore essential to the appreciation of Indian works of art. The writer devotes some interesting chapters to symbolism and gives us glimpses into that life which is so intimately permeated with its deep philosophic religion. In the course of his argumentation Mr. Havell raises questions touching the fundamental principles of art. In the enthusiasm for his cause he cannot refrain from making comparisons between Greek and Hindu art. The gods and goddesses of the Parthenon are made to retire before the sovereign Brahma "with unnumbered arms and breasts and eyes and faces infinite in form." We must not then be surprised that he has no sympathy for those works of Indian art where Greek influence has made itself felt.

Although we must call in question many of his statements, we urgently support him in his suggestions on the education of Indian artists. It would be very regrettable if they were not encouraged to work and develop on their own lines, grounded on their own great traditions of the past. This principle has been recognized in other branches of the educational system, and ought to be introduced into the Indian Art School, where at present the rigid and uninspiring teaching of our own Royal Academy prevails.—I. R.

13. *The Flights of the Dragon*, by LAURENCE BINYON. The "Wisdom of the East" series.—This is an essay on the Theory and Practice of Arts in China and Japan, based on

original sources. The editors of the series "desire above all things that, in their humble way, their books shall be the ambassadors of goodwill and understanding between the East and West—the old world of thought and the new of action." With this laudable end in view, their books at once commend themselves to the notices of all who are striving to gain the same goal.

In treating so vast a subject within such a small compass as Art, and its influence on the Far East, Mr. Binyon has only been able, as he himself remarks, to touch lightly upon many important and essential points. Points that constituted the greatness of Art as it existed in those regions once so pregnant with civilizing influences, that have ultimately found their way to the West. The Art of the East brought its power to bear upon the religious, ethical and domestic condition of the people. Its sway was almost universal, by reason of the earnestness of those who dedicated their lives and their energy to its expansion. Mr. Binyon favours the old country most, he leans in his eulogies towards China, though he frequently brackets China and Japan together, assuming the first to be the tutor of the latter. Notwithstanding the power exercised by the larger over the lesser country, it has at last come to be recognized that Japan possesses an individuality of her own in her Art, as well as in everything else she has undertaken.

In fable and legend allusions are frequently made to conceptions of the artists' fancies assuming life. The story of Sesshiu, who, for some slight fault, was tied to a post in the temple, and who with his feet drew mice that became endowed with life, and gnawed the rope that bound him till they effected his release, is only one of many of these convictions of artistic virility. Mr. Binyon's contribution to this series of little volumes will prove useful to all who are seeking instruction on the popular subject of colour prints, for he has discussed the merits of several Japanese artists with whose names the public are quite familiar.

He is in true sympathy with his subject. Perhaps, however, his essay will appeal chiefly to those who have made Eastern Art a speciality, for he is sometimes apt to envelop in deeper mystery the mysteries, secrets and subtleties he is wishful to unfold.—S.

T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

14. *The Story of Korea*, by JOSEPH H. LONGFORD, Professor of Japanese at King's College, late H.M. Consul at Nagasaki.—The reviewer has special pleasure in contemplating and examining the splendid work in another sphere of a brilliant Irish colleague, with whom he went out to the Far East in the same steamer nearly forty-three years ago, and who, like himself, is now reposing on the official shelf, but "professing" for all he is worth to the last. Mr. Longford is already most favourably known to the studious public for his "Story of Old Japan," in which country the heyday of his life has indeed been spent. What a change from 1869! A fellow passenger then was an army doctor going out to join the British regiment quartered in Japan for the protection of our legation and trade, and Korea was in such a state of absolute isolation that instant death or lifelong imprisonment was the fate of any stranger who should venture upon her inhospitable shores. And now the same Japan is our honoured "world ally," whilst Korea, through whom, 1500 years ago, Japan derived her first layers of Chinese civilization, is not only swallowed up, but already half digested by her secular and only rival.

In the origins and early history of Korea it is too much to expect that the general reader will take profound interest, but as one who has spent a couple of years in that distressful country, and made some study of its language, official annals, and life—both popular and official—on the spot, the reviewer is able to assure those who may honestly endeavour to assimilate the author's ancient as well as his modern chapters that Professor Longford is quite trustworthy.

One of the chief obscurities in dealing with Korean history is the triune spelling of every proper name, according to whether one is "thinking" in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean : thus Kaoli, Korai, Koryé (the last pronounced precisely like our own word Korea) are all the same : so with the Li, Ri, Ni, Ngi, or Ni dynasty. The author tells us (also quoting Professor Kanazawa) that the Korean and Japanese languages are "as closely allied as Dutch and German." This question has been frequently discussed by specialists. Whilst it is true that the construction of the two is almost identical, Professor Kanazawa certainly goes too far in "stigmatizing" Korean as being "only a branch of Japanese"; as a matter of fact, there are scarcely a score or so of individual words that can be declared unmistakably of one *souche*, and there is besides no rule or principle whatever under which any such words at all can be co-related with certainty, not to speak of the bulk of words.

The miserable results of Korea's 4,000 years of unassisted effort can be partly estimated by comparing the picture of Old Seoul (p. 264) with New Seoul (p. 352) after the latest improvements. Mr. Longford pays a just tribute to the invaluable ten years Augæan cleansing work done by Sir J. McLeavy Brown before the period of Japan's direct domination. Sir John was, in fact, the Sir Robert Hart of Korea—and, like him, is one of those silent, persistent Ulstermen whose qualities have recently exacted the unbounded enthusiasm of Lord Rosebery ; except that "we're nae that Scotche." The history of Korea's development may be thus roughly summed up : (1) A congeries of consanguineous tribes wedged in between the ancient Manchus and ancient Japanese, percolating from or into these two imperceptibly at each end of the peninsula, and possibly even connected by both of them by blood in very remote times ; (2) petty states of the Heptarchy type fitfully assailed by their Romans (Chinese) and their Danes (Japanese) ; (3) three fairly large states more or less civilized by the Chinese, more especially during a short

period of Chinese domination ; (4) the single state of Korea (an old name for one of the Heptarchy) under three different relays of Sino-Tartar suzerain influence ; (5) the single exclusive state of Chaosien, or Chosen, under the nominal but easy over-sovereignty of the Chinese and Manchu dynasties (Chaosien was also the name of a Heptarchy state). The invasion and attempted conquest of the Japanese "Napoleon," Hideyoshi, coincided with the arrival of Europeans in Japan and China, and the decay of the effete Chinese dynasty in favour of the then robust Manchu dynasty at Peking. Nearly all the above history, in five periods, was a sealed book to Europe previous to 1882-83, when Great Britain and the United States, following the lead of Japan, concluded treaties of commerce with Korea. Ever since then a welter of diplomatic intrigue and political see-saw has reigned at Seoul. If Sir Harry Parkes had lived to see Korea properly opened, there might have been a very different story to tell of the not very creditable ten years' period preceding the Chino-Japanese War of 1894. Indeed, Mr. Longford wisely decides (p. 326) not to "follow in detail" the vacillating parody of diplomacy which took the place of the lion-hearted Sir Harry's masterful, clear, and definite policy. After the Chino-Japanese war Great Britain and the United States took comparatively back seats, and the game of hocus-pocus practically became a duel between Russia and Japan, ending, as all the world knows, with the complete triumph of Japan, and the final painless extinction of Korea after passing through the various preliminary degrees of "predominant influence," "protectorate," and "annexation." The whole story is a very sad one, and, as the Chinese proverb says :—"Even the foxes can't help weeping at the dying convulsions of the hare."

Professor Longford tells his complicated story in a frank and agreeable way ; the large majority of readers will, of course, be chiefly interested in the more intelligible modern phase, which is but a quarter of a century in duration from

first temptation to final fall. Japan seems to be the only nation, East or West, that has survived the fatal embrace of restless European "progress," and Japan has now even "gone one better" than Europe, and has successfully set up as a first-class vampire on her own independent account. On the whole our author is judicial in his estimate of Japan's efforts, though in one place (pp. 333 *et seq.*) he is decidedly severe, and perhaps deservedly so; but which of the European Great Powers in the destructive mania for "civilization" and "peaceful penetration" can afford to cast the first stone? Within the limited space inexorably placed at our disposal, it is impossible to examine the various parts of the book in critical detail, but ever since Job's time a friend would not be a friend if he had not a word of gall to add to his sweetness. To wit, then, the literary style throughout is often a little disjointed and lacking in polish, and there are a trifle too many Balfourian "split infinitives." Again (pp. 231, 286), "a French priest" who accompanied the piratical Oppert in his raid on the royal grave seems to be deliberately dissociated from MM. Ridel and Féron, the virtuous fugitives escaping from persecution; the French priest in question was M. Féron, as the present writer once made quite clear, having known both Oppert's distinguished brother and Oppert's fellow "pirate" Jenkins, besides possessing a copy of Oppert's own book, which was always most mysteriously difficult to purchase; possibly this convenient "burking" of Father Féron may be the result of our author's taking his facts on the subject exclusively from Father Dallet's book. However that may be, the *Missions Etrangères*, to which M. Féron belonged, were not proud of his exploit, and this is evident from the fact that he totally disappears from their lists after that exploit, is sent to another part of the world, and M. Ridel (his junior) is made Bishop in Korea over his head.

There are very few misprints in the book; "leave" occurs for "have" on p. 94, and "1886" occurs for "1866" on p. 285. The photographs are really magnificent, the

general map and the special sketch maps quite sufficient. The index is downright poor. What shall we think of an index which does not include McLeavy Brown, Kublai Khan, the Ni Dynasty, Commodore Perry, the Satsuma rebellion, the treaties between Japan-Korea, Japan-Russia, etc., Tsushima, and a host of other important proper names frequently mentioned in the text? Such a valuable work as Professor Longford's certainly merits an index of the highest order. There seems to be a keen demand for the book, and it is strongly recommended to those who take pleasure in acquainting themselves with strange facts about strange places.—E. H. PARKER.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Song Divine; or, The Bhagavad-Gītā:* A metrical rendering (with annotations) by C. C. CALEB, M.B., M.S. (London: Luzac and Co.) In this excellent little volume the author has produced for those interested in the Sacred Literature of India, and in the Comparative Study of Religions, a version of the Gītā which, as he explains, is pleasant to the ear, and is, at the same time, a literal, accurate and trustworthy representation of the original. It is a versification based upon existing prose translations.

*Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08.* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1911.) This report again compares with those of the past, both in the interesting matter it contains, and the general get up of the book. The printing is excellent, and the illustrations are beautifully reproduced. The chief contents are General Conservation; The Akbari in the Agra Fort; The Rang Mahall in Delhi Palace; Notes on Conservation of Burma; Excavations at Sārnāth, Sahéth-Mahéth, and Takht-Bāhi; General Epigraphy; The First Vijayanagara Dynasty; Viceroys and Ministers; etc.

*Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* being letters, referring mainly to affairs in Bengal, which passed between some of the Company's Servants and Indian Rulers and Notables. Vol. i., 1759-1767. (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India.) The title of this work gives to us a full explanation of its contents. The work will be found useful to scholars, and students of Persian history.

*Beauty*: A Chinese Drama, translated from the original by REV. J. MACGOWAN. (London : E. L. Morice, 9, Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road.) This is a very neat little volume of an English translation of a Chinese fairy story, the heroine of which lived during the later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-190).

*Catalogue of Prâkritic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, by ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., with a preface by E. W. B. NICHOLSON, M.A. (Oxford : Clarendon Press.) This is a very useful catalogue and supplies a long-felt want.

*An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopædia*, compiled by LIONEL GILES, M.A., assistant in the department of Oriental printed books and manuscripts at the British Museum. (Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.) The Trustees of the British Museum, seeing the need of a full alphabetical index to the great Chinese Encyclopædia acquired by them in 1877, resolved that this work should be prepared, and the work has been admirably carried out by the compiler. The method he has followed, together with a history of the Encyclopædia itself, is fully set forth in his introduction.

*The Following of the Star*: A Romance, by FLORENCE L. BARCLAY. (London : G. P. Putnam's Sons.) This addition to Mrs. Barclay's works is, like her previous writings, worthy of her pen. It is interesting and full of stirring incidents, and well calculated to hold the attention of the reader and lover of a good wholesome novel. It is a healthy and readable story, with many good morals, which seem to flow from the author like rain from water-laden clouds. It is a book we can cordially recommend.—G. L.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace

Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.) ;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.) ;—*The Canadian Gazette* (London) ;—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London) ;—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.) ;—*The Cornhill Magazine* ;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road) ;—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1911 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) ;—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto) ;—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, October, November, and December, 1911 (published by the Society at 8-2, Hastings Street, Calcutta) ;—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1910-1911* (Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press) ;—*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, Pars xviii. Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache Literatur, Paradigmen, Texte und Glossar, von D. Karl Marti. (Berlin : Verlag von Reuther und Reichard, London : Williams and Norgate) ;—*The Encyclopaedia of Islam* : A dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammadan peoples, edited by M. Th. Houtsma and T. W. Arnold, No. X. (London : Luzac and Co.; Leyden : E. J. Brill) ;—*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending March 31, 1911*. (Government of Bombay, General Department) ;—*Address of the Dewan of Mysore to the Dasara Representative Assembly, October 6, 1911* (Mysore : Printed at the Government Branch Press) ;—*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending March 31, 1911*.

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *Intellectual and Political*

*Currents in the Far East*, by Paul S. Reinsch (Boston and New York : Houghton Mifflin Company) ;—*The Golden Legend of India*, by William H. Robinson (London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*The Full Recognition of Japan*, by Robert P. Porter (London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press) ;—*Stalks in the Himalaya*, by E. P. Steffing, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (London : John Lane, The Bodley Head) ;—*Copts and Moslems Under British Control*, by Kyriakos Mikhail (London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*A Year of Japanese Epigrams*, translated and compiled by William N. Porter, illustrated by Kazunori Ishibashi (London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press) ;—*The Progress of Japan 1853-1871*, by J. H. Guffins, C.M.G. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press) ;—*Through India and Burma with Pen and Brush*, by A. Hugh Fisher (London : T. Werner Laurie) ;—*Notes on Pushtu Grammar*, by Major A. D. Cox (London : Crosby, Lockwood and Son) ;—*Urdu Grammar*, by Captain B. Vaughan-Arbuckle (London, New York, and Calcutta : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*In the Shadow of Islam*, by Demetra Vaka (London : Constable and Co., Limited) ;—*The Creed of Half Japan*, by Arthur Lloyd, M.A. (London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*The Position of Women in Indian Life*, by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda and S. M. Mitra (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*Mysterious Morocco and How to Appreciate It*, by H. J. B. Ward, B.A. (London : Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Limited).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—THE KING-EMPEROR'S VISIT.—It having been decided that the King and Queen should visit India for the Coronation Durbar to be held at Delhi, their Majesties left London on November 11, and embarked on the *Medina* at Portsmouth, taking with them the prayers and good wishes of their people. They arrived at Gibraltar on November 14, and at Port Said on the 21st, where they were visited on board by Lord Kitchener, Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Wingate, the Sirdar, and Major-General Sir John Maxwell, General Officer Commanding the British Forces in Egypt. Royal salutes were fired from the batteries. During their voyage the powers of the various territories through which their Majesties passed exhibited tokens of friendship and cordiality. The *Medina* reached Bombay on December 2, and the Royal party landed amid scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm. They were received by the Governor-General, and the principal dignitaries of the city. On the 3rd they visited the Exhibition, and were enthusiastically greeted by 28,000 Indian and Eurasian children gathered in the Stadium. They arrived at Delhi on December 7, and received an unbounding welcome from the large gathering assembled there, which included all the Ruling Chiefs of India, the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge and many others. A salute of 101 guns was fired from the fort, and the streets were lined with troops. On December 8 the King placed in position the tablet of the All-India Memorial to King Edward, when, in answer to an address presented by the Committee, the King made the following reply :

“The address which you have just read has touched my heart and awakened memories of what we all, and I most of all, owe to my dear father, the late King-Emperor.

"He was the first of my House to visit India, and it was by his command that I came six short years ago to this great and wonderful land. Alas! little did we then think how soon we should have to mourn his loss.

"You tell me that this memorial represents the contributions, not only of a few who may have had the privilege of personal acquaintance with my father, but of thousands of his and my people in India.

"I am glad to know that the deep and abiding concern which he felt for India has met with so warm a response from the hearts of her children.

"I rejoice to think that this statue will stand a noble monument on a beautiful and historic site to remind generations yet unborn of your loyal affection and of his sympathy and trust—sentiments which, please God, always will be traditional between India and the members of my House."

On December 9, the King-Emperor concluded the reception of the Princes, and the Queen-Empress held a reception of Indian ladies, who presented an address of welcome.

The Coronation Durbar took place on the 12th amid scenes of grandeur in the presence of 25,000 British and Indian troops, and over 90,000 spectators.

The King-Emperor, addressing the assembly, spoke as follows:

"It is with genuine feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction that I stand here to-day among you. This year has been to the Queen-Empress and myself one of many great ceremonies and of an unusual though happy burden of toil. But in spite of time and distance, the grateful recollections of our last visit to India have drawn us again to the land which we then learned to love, and we started with bright hopes on our long journey to revisit the country in which we had already met the kindness of a home.

"In doing so I have fulfilled the wish expressed in my message of last July, to announce to you in person my Coronation, celebrated on the 22nd of June in Westminster Abbey, when by the Grace of God the Crown of my

Forefathers was placed on my head with solemn form and ancient ceremony.

"By my presence with the Queen-Empress I am also anxious to show our affection for the loyal Princes and faithful peoples of India, and how dear to our hearts is the welfare and happiness of the Indian Empire.

"It is a sincere pleasure and gratification to myself and the Queen-Empress to behold this vast assemblage, and in it my governors and trusty officials, my great Princes, the representatives of the peoples, and deputations from the Military Forces of my Indian Dominions.

"I shall receive in person with heartfelt satisfaction the homage and allegiance which they loyally desire to render.

"I am deeply impressed with the thought that a spirit of sympathy and affectionate goodwill unites Princes and people with me on this historic occasion.

"Finally, I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances which have been given you by my revered predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges, and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace, and contentment.

"To all present, feudatories and subjects, I tender our loving greeting."

The Emperor having addressed the assembly, the Viceroy and high officials and ruling chiefs came to testify their allegiance.

The following is the text of the King-Emperor's announcement at the close of the Durbar:

"We are pleased to announce to Our People that on the advice of Our Ministers, tendered after consultation with Our Governor-General in Council, We have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient capital Delhi, and, simultaneously, and as a consequence of that transfer, the creation as early a date as possible of a Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa, and of a Chief Commissionership of Assam,

with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as Our Governor-General in Council with the approval of Our Secretary of State for India in Council may in due course determine. It is Our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of Our beloved People."

The Governor-General, on behalf of the King-Emperor, announced the following grants, concessions, reliefs, and benefactions :

Immediate grant of £333,000 for the promotion of "truly popular education." Further grants promised.

Half a month's pay to soldiers, sailors, and civil employés receiving less than £3 6s. 8d. per month.

Native officers and men to be eligible for the Victoria Cross. Special grants of land or pensions to certain native officers of long service. Distinctive badges for Indian gentry of rank. Pensions for eminent Indian professors and teachers.

Grants of land in return for conspicuous service to be made in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

Various debts to the Government to be cancelled or remitted in part.

Honest debtors to be released from prison and their debts paid. Certain other prisoners to be freed.

The following Durbar honours were conferred :

#### STAR OF INDIA.

*G.C.S.I.*—His Excellency Sir George Sydenham Clarke, Governor of Bombay; Sir Arthur Lawley, Ex-Governor of Madras; Sir John Prescott Hewett, President of the Coronation Durbar Committee; His Highness Mabaraja of Bikaner; His Highness the Maharao of Kotah; His Excellency General Sir Garrett O'Moore Creagh; His Highness the Raja of Kapurthala; His Highness Nawab Mir Usman Ali Khan Faiz Jang, of Hyderabad; His Highness the Aga Khan of Bombay.

*K.C.S.I.*—Leslie Alexander Selim Porter, Esq., Acting Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; John Lewis Jenkins, Esq., an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India; Spencer Harcourt Butler, Esq., an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India; Robert Warrand Carlyle, Esq., an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India; His Highness the Mabaraja of Kishangarh; Reginald Henry Craddock, Esq., Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; James McCrone Douie, Esq.; James Scorgie Meston, Esq.; Benjamin Robertson, Esq.; Richard Amphlett Lamb, Esq., an Ordinary Member and Vice-President of the Council of the Governor of Bombay; Maharajadhiraja

Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab Bahadur of Burdwan; Elliot Graham Colvin, Esq.; Sir Trevredyn Rashleigh Wynne; Surgeon-General Charles Pardey Lukis, Indian Medical Service; Stanley Ismay, Esq., Chief Justice of the Chief Court of Mysore; George Casson Walker, Esq., lately Financial Adviser to the Government of the Nizam of Hyderabad; Apcar Alexander Apcar, Esq., Consul for Siam in Calcutta; His Highness the Raja of Dhar; His Highness the Raja of Dewas State (Senior Branch), in Central India; Surgeon-General Francis Wollaston Trevor, Principal Medical Officer, India; His Highness the Maharaja of Bhutan.

### ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

*G.C.I.E.*—His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir; Sir Louis William Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Bombay Presidency; Maharaja Sir Venkatasverachalapati Ranga Rao, Zamindar of Bobbili, in the Madras Presidency; Lieut-Colonel the Right Honourable Arthur John, Baron Stamfordham, Private Secretary to His Majesty the King-Emperor; Sir Guy Douglas Arthur Fleetwood Wilson; Sir John Newell Jordan, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking; His Highness the Maharajadhiraja of Udaipur; His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala; His Highness the Ruler of Kheirpur State; His Highness the Raja of Cochin; the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca.

*Honorary K.C.I.E.*—General Albert Houtum Schindler, lately Director, Central Department, Persian Foreign Office; Sheikh Mubarak Bin Subah, Ruler of Koweit.

*K.C.I.E.*—Frederick William Duke, Esq.; Archdale Earle, Esq.; Charles Stewart-Wilson, Esq.; Major-General Malcolm Henry Stanley Grover, C.B., Indian Army; Charles Raitt Cleveland, Esq., Director, Criminal Investigation Department; Lieut-General Sir Douglas Haig, Chief of the General Staff, Indian Army; Sri Kantirava Narasinharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, Yuvaraja of Mysore; Lieut-Colonel Hugh Daly, Resident in Mysore, and Chief Commissioner, Coorg; Henry Parsall Burt, Esq., Manager, North-Western Railway; James Houssemayne DuBoulay, Esq., Private Secretary to the Viceroy of India; His Highness the Maharajadhiraja of Charkhari State, Central India; Rajendra Nath Mukharji, Esq., Sheriff of Calcutta; Lieut-Colonel Henry Beaufoy Thorshill, Indian Army, Inspecting Officer of Cantonments; Gangadhar Madho Chitnavis, Esq., of Nagpur; His Highness the Nawab of Jaora State, Central India; His Highness the Raja of Sitamar State, Central India; the Raj Sahib of Vankaner, Bombay Presidency; Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq., LL.D., of Poona, Bombay Presidency; Michael Filose, Esq., Chief Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior; Rear-Admiral Sir Colin Richard Keppel, Extra Equerry to His Majesty the King-Emperor; Surgeon-General Arthur Mudge Brantfoot, President of the Medical Board, India Office; Sir John Stanley, K.C., lately Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, N.W. Provinces; Saint-Hill Eardley-Wilmot, Esq., Commissioner under the Development Act for Great Britain; Lieut-Colonel Percy Zachariah Cox, Indian Army,

Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; Francis Edward Spring, Esq., Chairman of the Madras Port Trust Board; William Arthur Dring, Esq., Agent, East Indian Railway Company; Maharaja Sri Viekratma Deo of Jeypore, Zamindar in the Madras Presidency; His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim; Rana Sheoraj Singh, Taluqdar of Thalrai (Khajurgaon), in the Rai Bareli District of Oudh; Raja Shaban Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur, of Salempur, Lucknow District, Oudh; His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar; His Highness the Maharawal Raghunath Singh Bahadur of Partabgarh, Rajputana; His Highness the Raja of Rajpipla, Rewa-Kantha Agency, Bombay Presidency; Diwan Bahadur Seth Kasturchand Daga, Central Provinces; His Highness the Maharaja of Bijawar State, Bundelkhand, Central India; General Mowbray Thomson (retired), late Bengal Infantry.

### ORDER OF THE CROWN OF INDIA.

Margaret Etienne Haonah, Marchioness of Crewe; Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, Begum of Bhopal; Her Highness Maharani Shri Nundkanvarba, wife of His Highness the Maharaja of Bhawanagar.

### ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER.

*G.C.V.O.*—His Highness the Nawab of Rampur; Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Master of Ceremonies, King-Emperor's Coronation Durbar at Delhi; Hon. Major-General His Highness Maharaja Bahadur Sir Pratap Singh, Regent of Jodhpur.

*K.C.V.O.*—Edward Lee French, Esq., Inspector-General of Police, Punjab; Brigadier-General Rollo Estoueville Grimston, Military Secretary to His Majesty the King-Emperor; Hon. Colonel Nawab Sir Mohammad Aslam Khan; Rear-Admiral Sir Edmond John Warre Slade; Nawab Mumtaz-Ud-Daula Sir Mohammad Faiyaz Ali Khan of Pahsu, Chief Member of Council, Jaipur State.

*New Baronet.*—Sir Saseoon Jaenb David, Knight, an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.

*Knights Bachelor.*—James Molesworth Macpherson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department; Mr. Justice Cecil Michael Wilford Brett, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal; Mr. Justice Asutosh Mukherji, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal; Mr. Justice Henry George Richards, K.C., Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, N.W. Provinces; Mr. Justice Hugh Daly Griffin, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature, N.W. Provinces; Ralph Percy Ashton, Esq., President of the Mining and Geological Institute, Calcutta; Khan Bahadur Bezonji Dadabhooy Mehta, Nagpur; Cecil William Noble Graham, Esq., President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce; Lieut.-Colonel Charles Henry Bedford, Indian Medical Service; Hugh Steio Fraser, Esq., of Madras; Mr. Justice Dinsbaw Dhanjibhai Davar, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay; Shapurji Burjorji Broacha, Esq., Sheriff of Bombay; Rao Sahib Vasanji Trikamji Mutji, Head of the

Jain Community; Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Esq., a Justice of the Peace for the City of Bombay; James Begbie, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bombay.

We regret that want of space prevents our giving all the newly-appointed honours.

Their Majesties will leave Bombay on January 10, and are due to reach Spithead on February 4.

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INDIA: GENERAL.—Mr. Gandhi having resigned the Presidentship of the National Congress, Pandit Bishain Narain Dhar has been elected to fill his position.

About 30 lacs of rupees (£200,000) have been collected for establishing a residential Hindoo University at Benares with an adequate European staff. The promoters of the scheme have accepted the Government's condition upon which they will recognize the University. The Maharaja of Darbhanga has given 5 lacs of rupees (£33,000) towards the funds.

The final figures of the census of India show the total population of all India to be 315,132,537, as against 294,361,056 at the census of 1901, or an increase of 20,771,481, or 7·1 per cent.

The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province has issued a circular making primary education free throughout the province from April 1 next.

The "Old Bombay" Exhibition was opened at Bombay on November 29 by Sir George Sydenham Clarke, the Governor, who in his opening speech referred to the great part played by the brilliant spectacles in connection with the Royal visit. The Exhibition possesses, besides a presentation of Old Bombay arts, crafts and other exhibits, various up-to-date social attractions after the usual European model.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—The punitive expedition against the Abors, for the murder of Mr. Noel Williamson and his party, started towards the end of October under the command of Major-General Bower, and arrived in two columns at Pasighat on October 27. Great difficulty was expe-

rienced in advancing into the Abor country. At Pashigat the enemy was encountered in a sharp fight, two of whom were killed and three wounded. Lendum was found deserted, but the Gams, or headmen, returned together with the people. They protested that they warned Mr. Williamson and helped the refugees of his party. They promised to give information to the troops.

A friendly mission was dispatched to the Mishmis from the expedition in order to make clear to them their position in regard to the Abor Expedition, and thus prevent any tendency on their part to join the Abors. The opportunity was also taken to obtain information regarding the nature and limits of the country.

Major-General Bower proceeded to Rotung on November 20, and found the village burnt. On the 21st various reconnaissances were made, and a party of Abors were surprised, six of whom were killed. Six muzzle-loading muskets and a number of poisoned arrnws were found. On the 23rd a force from Old Renging encountered barricades and a stockade, from which shots were fired. The Gurkhas demolished the stockade and killed the Abors. A stronghold at Kekar Monn Ying was captured on December 4. The fighting was severe, and two Gurkha riflemen were killed. Several dead Abors were found when the position was carried. Four companies of Gurkhas were sent after the retreating enemy.

**SIAM.**—The Siamese Government having applied for the services of a British official in connection with the Siamese Customs, the British Government has agreed to the appointment for three years of Mr. W. J. Lamont, who for the last four years has been in charge of the Liberian Customs.

**PERSIA.**—Fighting still continues in Persia, causing much unrest among all communities. The Russian Government demanded an apology from Persia on the ground that during the seizure of Shua-es-Sultaneh's property, the Treasury Gendarmes insulted two Russian Consular officers. No reply having been received to this within the

stated time, the Russian Government ordered 4,000 men to be sent to Kazvin in order to enforce the demands put forward in the ultimatum. Finally, however, under the advice tendered by Great Britain, Persia consented to comply with the demands of the Russian ultimatum. The Treasury Gendarmes were withdrawn and replaced by a force of Persian Cossacks. Another ultimatum was made by Russia, asking for the dismissal of Mr. Shuster from the post of Treasurer-General, but the Mejliss unanimously refused compliance.

The British Minister, on October 10, informed the Persian Government that he proposed to increase the Consular Guards at Shiraz and elsewhere, in order to protect British life and property. Accordingly the 39th Central India Horse were despatched from India and landed at Bushire and marched to Shiraz.

On going to press, negotiations have been begun between the Persian Cabinet and the Russian Minister at Teheran, with the object of softening the tone of the recent ultimatum. The Cabinet and the Democrats are anxious to arrive at a general agreement with Russia. Much agitation is going on among all classes.

**TURKEY IN ASIA : YEMEN.**—A satisfactory understanding has been reached with the Imam Yahya tending to the establishment of permanent peace in Yemen. The Imani has agreed to renounce his claim to the Khaliphat, to release the Arab hostages he has hitherto retained with the object of insuring the co-operation of the tribesmen in the revolt against the Turks, to liberate the Turkish prisoners, and to desist from levying certain taxes. The Government will support the Imam Yahya against rival Imams, will grant him a large annual subsidy, and substitute Moslem law for the Tanzim in the highlands under his administration.

**CHINA.**—A state of rebellion exists in China, and the Government is confronted with the most formidable danger since the Taiping rebellion. The outbreak started at Wuchung, the capital of the two provinces of Hunan and

Hupeh, and Hanyang, where the troops belonging to the Eighth Division and to a mixed brigade of the Eleventh Division, mutinied. The movement is anti-dynastic. The rebellion spread from one city to another. Hankau was soon occupied by the revolutionists without opposition. The foreigners resident in the three cities of Hankau, Wuchung, and Hanyang left. By an Imperial Edict, Jui-cheng, the Viceroy, was cashiered, but ordered to stay at Wuchung to retrieve his reputation. The success of the revolutionaries continued to a very large extent, and a new Government was proclaimed by them at Hankau. The loyalty of all troops other than Manchu became unreliable, and the Manchu Government came face to face with a very grave danger. Yi-Chang, the Minister of War, formed many composite troops, but great difficulty was experienced in getting these to the seat of operations on account of the railways being destroyed. Eventually this was achieved.

An Edict was issued recalling Yuan Shih-kai from his retirement, into which he was sent on January 2, 1909, and appointing him Viceroy of Hunan and Hupeh, with orders to co-operate with Admiral Sa Chen-ping and the Minister of War in suppressing the revolt. He returned to the command and insisted on being given full powers to make terms with the revolutionaries. He was given a military dictatorship in the sphere of the rebellion, and started for the front on October 30. He was appointed Prime Minister on November 1, and returned to Peking, where he formed a new Cabinet. Wei Kuang-tao succeeded him in the Viceroyalty of Hunan and Hupeh, but in deference to adverse criticism Yuan Shih-kai reconsidered this appointment, and replaced him by General Tuan Chi-jui, commanding the Second Army, whom he ordered to proceed, with a military division of troops, to Hankau and suppress the rebellion.

By an Edict, issued on October 26, Sheng Hsuan-huai, Minister of Communications, was dismissed, and Tang Shao-ji, a Cantonese, and friend of Yuan Shih-kai, was appointed in his place.

Much fighting has taken place. On October 18, the loyal troops were attacked at Hankau by the rebels. On November 4, Hankau was reported to be in flames. Ichang and Changsha passed into the hands of the rebels. At Wuchung, the rebel Viceroy Tang Hua-ling, and Yuan-heng, the General commanding the troops, enlisted 20,000 troops. Fighting took place, and many were killed and wounded. The garrison of Tsinansu, Chanchung, and Paotingsu declared in favour of the revolutionaries. Much fighting took place at Hankau, where the casualties were great on both sides. On October 31 business was resumed again in this city. The dockyard and arsenal at Shanghai was captured by the rebels. The Chinese Court at Peking was paralyzed with fear, and many Princesses and noble ladies sought the protection of the foreign concessions. General Wu Lu-chen, Governor-Designate of Shansi, was assassinated by Manchu soldiers for associating himself with mutinous soldiers who had murdered Manchus at Tainanfu. The Imperialists recaptured Hanyang and the arsenal, but the revolutionaries continued to capture many strategical positions commanding Nanking. On December 2, Yuan Shih-kai granted a three days armistice, which was afterwards prolonged, to the revolutionaries at Wuchung in order to enable the National Conference to assemble at Shanghai.

A Republic was proclaimed at Canton, and the Viceroy sought British protection at Hong-kong. On November 14 Yuan Shih-kai returned to Peking, when further power was conferred upon him, and practically the whole available Northern Army was placed under his orders. His arrival had a very tranquillizing effect upon both the foreigners and the Chinese, allaying unrest and restoring confidence.

The National Assembly has formulated a Constitution, the principles of which the Throne has accepted, and intends to promulgate them throughout the Empire. The safety of the Throne is guaranteed, but a responsible Government is to be set up, and financial arrangements of

the Imperial Household are to be under its control. The Constitution is modelled on British principles.

**AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.**—General Lord Methuen, the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces in South Africa, will relinquish his command in March next, but will, in deference to the strongly expressed wishes of the Union Government, stay in South Africa until the Union Defence Bill has been passed through Parliament. Brigadier-General Aston will remain with Lord Methuen. Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Hart will take up the command at the end of March.

**AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.** — The Commonwealth Prime Minister delivered his Budget statement on October 26. The revenue for the financial year 1910-11 from Customs amounted to £12,980,000, being £1,387,000 in excess of the previous year. The land-tax yielded £1,370,000. The total revenue amounted to £18,803,000. The expenditure for the year amounted to £16,973,000 leaving a surplus of £1,830,000.

**CANADA.**—The Duke and Duchess of Connaught left England for Canada on October 6, 1911, by the Canadian Pacific Royal Mail Steamer, *Empress of Ireland*. They arrived at Quebec on October 13, where the Duke took up his appointment as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of Canada. They were met with great enthusiasm by the people of Canada.

The elections in Canada decided for the complete change of the Government and a return of the Conservatives to power. The Hon. R. L. Borden was made Premier and President of the Privy Council in place of Sir Wilfred Laurier. He formed a Cabinet as follows:

The Hon. R. L. Borden (Nova Scotia), Premier and President of the Privy Council; Mr. Martin Burrel (British Columbia), Minister of Agriculture; Dr. J. D. Reid (Ontario), Minister of Customs; Mr. W. T. White (Ontario), Minister of Finance; Mr. Bruno Nantel (Quebec), Minister of Inland Revenue; The Hon. Robert Rogers (Manitoba), Minister of the Interior; The Hon.

C. J. Doherty (Quebec), Minister of Justice; Mr. T. W. Crothers (Ontario), Minister of Labour; The Hon. J. D. Hazen (New Brunswick), Minister of Marine and Fisheries; Colonel Sam Hughes (Ontario), Minister of Militia; The Hon. L. P. Pelletier (Quebec), Postmaster-General; Mr. F. D. Monk (Quebec), Minister of Public Works; The Hon. Frank Cochrane (Ontario), Minister of Railways; Dr. W. J. Roche (Manitoba), Secretary of State; The Hon. George E. Foster (Ontario), Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. G. H. Perley, Mr. A. E. Kemp (Ontario), and Senator Lougheed (Alberta), Ministers without portfolio.

The Canadian Parliament was opened at Ottawa by the Duke of Connaught on November 16.

Mr. Landry has been appointed Speaker of the Senate, and Mr. Sproule Speaker in the House of Commons.

Lord Strathcona has consented to retain the office of High Commissioner for Canada for an indefinite period.

The figures of the Canadian census taken in June 1911, were issued in October, and give the total population of the Dominion as 7,081,869. There were four remote provinces still to be accounted for, which would make a slight increase. The population in 1901 was 5,371,315.

Lord Grey returned from Canada on October 20 at the close of his term of office as Governor-General of Canada.

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**OBITUARY.**—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter:

Lieutenant-General Sir George Samuel Young, K.C.B. (Sutlej campaign 1845, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. C. E. Edwardes (Indian Mutiny 1857-58);—Major-General H. H. C. Grosvenor Warington, of the Indian Army (Indian Mutiny 1858);—Captain Henry E. W. Rumbold (Crimea, Indian Mutiny); Herbert Douglas Taylor, late Madras Civil Service;—The Right Hon. Henry Stafford, Lord Northcote, P.C., C.C.M.G., C.C.I.E., C.B., sometime Governor of Bombay and Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth;—Major-General Alfred Lyte, late of the Royal (Bengal) Artillery (Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier 1863);—Colonel W. E. Phillips, Indian Army (Afghan war 1880, Waziristan campaign on the North-West Frontier 1901);—Brigadier-Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel George Grant, Indian Medical Service;—Sir Herbert

Risley, R.C.I.E., C.S.I., late I.C.S.;—Sir Henry Jules Blanc, late Indian Medical Service;—Arthur Pearse Howell, late Bengal Civil Service;—Major-General Sir John Charles Hoad (South Africa);—Colonel Duncan McNeil Campbell, late Madras P.W.D.;—Major John Finlay (Indian Mutiny, Persian war 1856-57);—The Rev. Arthur H. Barrett Brittain, formerly Canon of Madras Cathedral;—S. S. Skinner, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge of Purneah;—Major-General W. T. Goldsworthy, C.B. (Indian Mutiny, Abyssinian expedition);—Colonel Henry Parke Airey (Soudan expedition 1885, Burmese expedition 1886-87, South Africa 1900-01);—Colonel Thomas Myles Sandy (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. L. Sinclair, late Colonel commanding the 2nd Belooch battalion Indian Army (Burmese expedition 1886-88);—Major G. M. Hutton, D.S.O. (Chin-Lushai expedition 1889-90, South African war 1899-1902);—Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Hamilton de Voeux (Dongola expedition 1896, North-West Frontier of India 1897-98, Tirah 1897-98);—Colonel S. Jackson, late of Bombay;—Major Alexander Young Spearman (Nilc expedition 1898, South Africa 1902, North-West Frontier of India 1908);—Surgeon-Major Campbell Dykes, of the Indian Medical Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edmund Buckle (Jowaki expedition 1877, and Afghan war);—William Irvine, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel James William Drover, Indian Army (Burmese expedition 1887-89, and 1891-93);—Captain L. H. V. Forster, Indian Army;—Rev. Wilson Aylesbury Roberts, M.A., Canon of Bombay Cathedral;—Major-General D. Gaye, retired Indian Army;—Surgeon-Major-General R. W. Meadows (Crimea, Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel C. H. Bagot (Afghan war 1878, Bechuanaland expedition 1884);—Colonel A. R. Denne (Burmese expedition 1885-89, Chin-Lushai expedition 1889-90, Burma 1891-92, Chitral 1895, Tirah 1897-98);—Colonel E. Smyth, Indian Army (retired);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. MacGregor (Afghan war 1879-80, South Africa 1881);—Standish Lee, Superintendent Sanitary Engineer in Mysore;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Haldane (China war 1860);—Captain G. F. Reinhold (North-West Frontier of India 1902);—Dr. W. W. Webb, formerly in the Indian Medical Service;—Eugene W. Oates, late P.W.D., India;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Hall (Indian Mutiny);—Major J. H. Banbury (North-West Frontier 1897-98, Tirah expedition);—Second Lieutenant T. C. de la P. Beresford-Peirse, Marquess of Tweedale, at one time Acting Deputy-Commissioner of Simla, and Superintendent of the Hill States in Northern India;—General Sir Baker Creed Russell (Indian Mutiny, Ashanti war 1873, South Africa 1880, Egypt 1882);—Colonel R. G. Charlton (Indian Mutiny);—Major the Hon. Herbert Hamilton Lindsay, Royal Scots Greys (South Africa);—George E. Cower, at one time Judge of the Small Cause Court, Madras.

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SIR EDWARD GREY ON PERSIA.

By H. F. B. LYNCH.

THE Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in September, 1907. Though Parliament had been in session until late in the summer, no suggestion had been made by Ministers that a treaty of this far-reaching nature was under negotiation. On the contrary, the House of Commons had been informed, in answer to a question, that the negotiations had reference to mere frontier questions in Asia. When the terms of the Convention were published, they produced what may almost be described as a feeling of consternation among those in this country who were well acquainted with Asiatic affairs. This feeling was mainly engendered by the provisions relating to Persia, while those which concerned Thibet and Afghanistan appeared to open wider rather than to close the door upon Russian intrigues in those regions. When Parliament reassembled in February of the following year, five months after the conclusion of the Convention, a debate took place (February 17, 1908) which, although it dealt with a fact that had been accomplished, was nevertheless memorable for the speeches which it elicited. It was opened by a speech of exceptional grasp and comprehensiveness from the late Lord Percy. It is interesting now to read the terms of the Motion which stood in his name: "That this House, while welcoming

the principle of an agreement with Russia with regard to Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet, is of opinion that the terms of the Convention, while involving at several points a sacrifice of British interests, still leave room for international misunderstandings of a kind which both the contracting Powers desire to avoid." Lord Percy began by enlarging upon the ambiguous nature of some of the most important provisions in the Convention. Were the two areas traced in the Convention, and subject respectively to British and to Russian influence, commercial or political areas ; and, if the latter, what was the meaning to be attached to the word "political"? Noting that the phrase "spheres of influence" had been carefully avoided in the text of the treaty, he asked whether in fact there was anything to prevent their creation ? Would it be contrary to the provisions of the treaty if one or both of the contracting parties were to persuade the Persian Government to entrust them with the machinery of administration, allow them to maintain a local garrison or even grant them a lease of territory in the regions where the Convention recognizes that they have a predominant interest in the maintenance of law and order?

In the light of subsequent happenings, Lord Percy's speech assumes an importance which impels me to make further reference to it on this occasion. He drew a striking contrast in principle between the Anglo-French Agreement and that concluded with Russia. In the case of the latter, both the character of the settlement and the methods by which it had been arrived at were the exact antithesis of those which had inspired and determined the former. The Anglo-French Agreement was a comprehensive arrangement, removing all outstanding difficulties between the two countries. It ranged from Newfoundland to Siam, and it proceeded to balance a concession in one part of the world against a corresponding concession in another part. In dealing with any particular problem, the authors of the Anglo-French Agreement started with the assumption that

the most effective—if not the only effective—means of preventing a future conflict and clash of interest between the two Powers was to put an end once and for all to anything in the nature of a condominium in identical or even in contiguous geographical areas. We got a free hand, so far as France was concerned, in Newfoundland and Egypt; and France obtained similarly a free hand, so far as we were concerned, in Morocco. Contrast this kind of agreement with the Anglo-Russian Convention. That Convention alone included in its scope the regions commonly known as the Middle East, in particular portions of which it confirmed or extended Russian interests, and in Persia created a political condominium between Russia and ourselves. The Convention merely facilitated the prosecution of rival politics without, in fact, taking the trouble to inquire whether these policies were reconcilable or not. After emphasizing the enormous commercial sacrifices which we had made to Russia in Persia, Lord Percy concluded his speech on a less pessimistic note. Everything would depend, he said, on the manner in which the two Powers would interpret the main provisions of the Convention. It was quite possible that Sir Edward Grey had received from the Russian Government satisfactory assurances on all the points which he had just raised. British good faith and British honour were one of the principal assets of the British Empire, and both were involved in our dealings with the Mohammedan peoples in the countries adjacent to India. He expressed the hope that these peoples might come in future to look upon the Convention, not as a sign that Great Britain had ceased to take any practical interest in their welfare, but on the contrary, as a crowning proof of the unselfish and disinterested character of her friendship.

Such is an outline of the speech to which, in February, 1908, Sir Edward Grey had to respond. It seemed to us who heard it to be unanswerable. Rising at once, the Foreign Secretary replied in the style to which we have

now become familiar, and which consists in giving his own versions of events and of causes and setting it up against the version presented by his adversary. Addressed to an audience, to the vast majority of whom such subjects are new and unfamiliar, this style of reply possesses obvious merits. Very few of Sir Edward Grey's "facts" about Persia will bear the test of critical examination. In a recent letter to the *Times* (February 22, 1912), Professor Browne has collected a number of such loose statements, and it would not be difficult to add to the list. We know that Sir Edward Grey rarely reads the newspapers; and we must assume that the information conveyed to him by his department is either inaccurate or misleading. But the "facts" make a brave show, when skilfully strung together; and, on the occasion of his reply to Lord Percy, a great part of his speech was devoted to this process. He at first restrained altogether from dealing with Lord Percy's inquiries about the nature of the areas in Persia which had been traced in the Convention, and whether there was anything to prevent the conversion of these areas into spheres of political influence or even of occupation. But, when pressed by an interruption from the latter to give the House a reply, he brushed aside the question as hypothetical in nature, and confined himself to the statement that it had never entered his head for a moment that an Agreement which confirmed the integrity of Persia could be turned into a partition without consultation between the Governments concerned. This statement, however, was so obviously unsatisfactory that he was obliged to return to the subject before bringing his speech to a close. It is this passage which was the Foreign Secretary's substantial contribution to the debate, and it is so important that I shall quote it at length. It ran as follows: "I cannot say that all danger of interference in Persia is now over. . . . But the danger of interference by ourselves or Russia is greatly diminished; and when I hear it said that Persian interests have suffered, I maintain that that statement is the direct

contrary to the truth. I have used the term 'British and Russian spheres.' I trust that it will be noted and understood that I have used it solely in the sense in which it is used in this Agreement, and not in the sense of the political partition of Persia. Under the Agreement we bind ourselves not to seek certain concessions of a certain kind in certain spheres. *But these are only British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia.* But if Persia is to have, as I hope she will, the chance of working out her own constitutional problems, now so serious and difficult, in her own way ; if, after years of mis-government and bad government, she is to come by constitutional means to a better form of government, to a better, stronger, and less corrupt administration, then I say that the chance of doing so without interference, her chance of working out these problems in her own way, has been greatly improved by the agreement between Russia and ourselves." I would beg my readers to note that this language is almost identical with the language used in the Spring-Rice despatch, to which I shall presently come. The same note was struck by Mr. (now Lord) Morley, who wound up the debate on behalf of the Government of India after a speech delivered by myself. "It is quite true," he said, "that my hon. friend the Member for Ripon has made a case in one or two details. But think what the change is! We now have got Persia herself, weak and rather distracted as she is by constitutional struggles, free from that squalid and mischievous rivalry, and you have these two great European Powers no longer rivals—I had almost called them confederates—in the sterilization of anything like moral progress or material progress in Persia. That is the broad answer that I would make to all those detailed criticisms." Lord Morley's peroration was conceived in the same vein. "I think His Majesty's Government and the country have reason to congratulate themselves upon this arrangement being made ; and the foreign

Powers concerned, whether the Amir of Afghanistan or other potentates, may know that *what we have undertaken will be faithfully observed and carried out.*"

In other words, England and Russia, hitherto rivals or confederates in preventing Persia from making moral or material progress, had composed their rivalries, and combined together in the far nobler task of assisting rather than of impeding the regeneration of Persia. And what they had undertaken would be faithfully observed and carried out.

One is inclined to rub one's eyes when reading afresh these passages after the lapse of four years. Time has its revenges, and no revenge could be more complete or more highly charged with bitterness than that which has overtaken these professions. We know that those circles which, after all, determine Russian policy construed the Agreement in a totally different manner to that in which it was viewed by our own Government. They had acquired "rights" in Persia under the Convention. The pound of flesh was theirs, and they determined to eat it : "*What we have undertaken will be faithfully carried out.*" The words sound like mockery at the present time. We have been pulled over the line and pulled into the mud with all Asia looking on.

But a ray of light commences to penetrate the gloom. Not in Persia, it is true, but over here. For the first time in our recent history public opinion in England, and especially among the Liberal party, is becoming interested in foreign affairs. The Persian question is mainly responsible for this healthy revival. The disasters which have overtaken our policy in Persia are realized, and what they forebode for our future is appreciated.

Let us, however, return to the date of the signature of the Convention. We have seen that the Secretary of State for India made a special appeal in his speech, delivered five months later, to the "Amir of Afghanistan and other potentates," who were given to understand that

what we had undertaken would be faithfully observed and carried out. Why was this appeal made? Because the consent of the Amir of Afghaoistan to the terms of the Convention relating to his country was necessary in order to render them operative. Five months had elapsed, and this consent was oot forthcoming. Lord Morley expressed his conviction that within a given time we should obtain the Amir's acceptance; and his solemn assurances of good faith on the part of our Government in observing both the letter and the spirit of the Convention were calculated to hasten the event. Four years have now passed since these assurances were given; but the consent of the Amir remains as distant as ever. Who will blame him after what has happened in Persia?

I have alluded to the misgivings with which the Convention was regarded in England. They were shared by the Persian Government, and feeling ran very high in the bazaars and places of public discussion in Persia. The Convention was regarded as a betrayal by Great Britain and as a league between Great Britain and Russia for the destruction of Persian independence. Strong speeches were delivered in the *anjumans*. There was a moment when the danger of a popular rising against Europeans was felt by the Legations to be imminent. It was in such circumstances that the British Minister, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, penned his now famous communication to the Persian Government. It was delivered early in September, 1907, in Persian. It was circulated throughout Persia on September 14 by the Persian daily newspaper, *Hablu'l-Matin*. It was translated by Professor Browne, first in the form of a pamphlet, and later in his book on the Persian Revolution.

The despatch began by stating that information had reached the writer that the report was rise in Persia that the result of the Convention concluded between England and Russia would he the intervention of these two Powers io Persia and the partition of Persia between them. It went on to remind the Persian Miister for Foreign

Affairs that the negotiations between England and Russia were of a wholly different character, and that the Special Envoy of the Persian Government, who had recently visited both St. Petersburg and London, had received from the Foreign Ministers of both Powers explicit declarations as to the objects aimed at by their respective Governments in Persia. It proceeded to inform the Persian Government of the substance of the conversations which had taken place between Sir Edward Grey and the Persian Special Envoy; and also of the substance of M. Isvolsky's declarations, officially communicated to the British Government. Sir Edward Gray had explained to the Persian Special Envoy that he and M. Isvolsky were completely in accord on two fundamental points. Firstly, that neither of the two Powers would interfere in the affairs of Persia unless injury were inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects; and, secondly, that negotiations arising out of the Anglo-Russian Convention must not violate the integrity and independence of Persia.

The despatch went on to quote from observations made by Sir Edward Grey, and from the declarations given to the British Government by M. Isvolsky. Sir Edward Grey's observations were practically identical with those contained in the passage of his speech of February 14, 1908, which I have quoted above. The object of the Convention, so far as Persia was concerned, was to prevent both Powers from interfering in Persian affairs and so to enable Persia to effect her own regeneration. M. Isvolsky's declarations included the following important statement: "This Agreement between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms." The Spring-Rice despatch concluded with the following summary: "From the above statements you will see how

baseless and unfounded are these rumours which have lately prevailed in Persia concerning the political ambitions of England and Russia in this country. The object of the two Powers in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but their object in these friendly negotiations was *not to allow one another to intervene* on the pretext of safeguarding their interests. The two Powers hope that in the future Persia will be for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention, and will thus be perfectly free to manage her own affairs in her own way, whereby advantage will accrue both to herself and to the whole world."

Now, anyone who will take the trouble to compare the language of this passage with that of the passage which I have quoted from Lord Morley's speech of February 17, 1908, will not only note the similarity of the argument, but will also be able to appreciate its true import. It amounts to this: England and Russia, having come to an agreement as regards commercial concessions in Persia, and being firmly resolved to maintain the integrity and independence of the country, would no longer have any excuse for interfering in Persian internal affairs. That was the official construction of the true meaning of the Agreement at the time when it was signed. It was the construction placed upon it, not only by our own Government, but by that of Russia. The word of honour of Great Britain was given to the Persian people that this was what was meant and what would be observed. "*What we have undertaken,*" again to quote Lord Morley's phrase, "*will be faithfully observed and carried out.*"

The events of the last four years have signally belied these professions, given in the name of our own Government and in that of Russia to the Government and people of Persia. It is, to say the least, a serious reflection upon our diplomacy that the terms of the Convention itself were

not made more clear, and that so much should have been left to official declarations received from the Russian Government. When you are dealing with a Government like that of Russia, which is scarcely master in its own house, you cannot be too particular in drawing out the text of an agreement. You are contending, and the Russian Government is contending, with powers behind the throne, in Russia, who often determine the course of policy, and whose proceedings are as equivocal as their conscience is dull. If you elect to sup with the devil, you must sup with a long spoon, and you must take every precaution which your ingenuity can devise to prevent your fingers from being burnt. However, the Convention is there, and so is the official interpretation. Mr. Shuster has told us that it was principally his sincere belief in the good faith of those who signed and promulgated that document that finally decided him to go to Persia.\* We know how that good faith has been kept as regards Mr. Shuster. Our future task must consist in requiring strict observance of its terms and interpretation by both the signatory Powers.

I have taken the trouble to set out at length this all-important page in the history of the Anglo-Russian Convention. Had it been forgotten by Sir Edward Grey when he delivered to the House of Commons his amazing speech of February 21 last?† On December 14 he had informed the House that he had never seen the Spring-Rice despatch. It was elicited that the Foreign Office did not even possess a copy of it. What is the explanation now given of these extraordinary omissions? That "this was a document drawn up by the British Minister in an unofficial form. "On the face of it you can see," said Sir Edward Grey, "that it is in unofficial form. The British Minister re-

\* Speech to the Persia Committee, January 29, 1912, published in Pamphlet No. 1 of the Persia Committee, London, 1912.

† See the Official Report in Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, vol. xxxiv., No. 6, 1912.

garded it as so unofficial that he did not send it to me at the time, and that is why I never saw it. A few days after he had drawn it up, instructions were sent by me from the Foreign Office as to the explanation which was to be given to the Persian Government of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Those instructions were the official authoritative explanation. They were given some days after that unofficial document. They were accepted by the Persian Government." The instructions sent from the Foreign Office are contained on p. 48 of the Blue Book, Persia No. 1, 1909. The communication to the Persian Government which was based on these instructions does not appear in the Blue Book at all. That it was accepted by the Persian Government, as Sir Edward Grey stated in the debate, has been shown by subsequent question and answer to be inaccurate.\* The Persian Government merely received the communication, and made no comment upon it. Now, if we turn to these instructions, we find that they contain a declaration which was obviously calculated to allay Persian suspicions. It is as follows: "The two States have, in signing the Arrangement, steadfastly kept the fundamental principle in view, that the independence and integrity of Persia should be respected absolutely. The sole object of the Arrangement is the avoidance of any cause of misunderstanding on the ground of Persian affairs between the contracting parties. The Shah's Government will be convinced that the Agreement concluded between Russia and Great Britain cannot fail to promote the prosperity, security, and ulterior development of Persia in the most efficacious manner." Here we have, at least, an admission by Sir Edward Grey in 1912 that the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Persia was the fundamental principle which underlay the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

It is true that the Spring-Rice despatch, penned a short

\* See Official Report of Answers to Questions in the House of Commons, February 29, 1912.

time before the receipt of these instructions, had dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" of the concise language used in the telegraphic despatch upon which Sir Edward Grey relies. But anyone who will take the trouble to compare the former despatch with the language used by Sir Edward Grey and Lord Morley in explaining the Convention to Parliament in February, 1908, can scarcely fail to come to the conclusion that Sir Cecil Spring-Rice was abundantly justified in doing this. Nor does Sir Edward Grey now blame him. He tells us that in substance—in general substance—the Spring-Rice despatch does not differ from the official interpretation "except in regard to one sentence at the end, which states that their object (the British and Russian Governments) in these friendly negotiations 'was not to allow one another to intervene.'" "I believe," he goes on to say, "that the British Minister in drawing that up did not intend it to bear the construction which has been put upon it. The construction which has been put upon it is that we undertook some obligation to guarantee in a way we had not done before the integrity and independence of Persia. That was not the construction which he had intended." I scarcely know by whom the words quoted by the Foreign Secretary have been construed in the terms which he cites. For nearly a hundred years Great Britain and Russia have exchanged assurances with one another, and have given assurances to the Persian Government that they were resolved to respect the independence and integrity of Persia.\* The Anglo-Russian Convention confirmed these assurances, and was based, in the language used by M. Isvolsky, and quoted by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, on a guarantee of the independence and integrity of Persia. I have already given Sir Edward Grey's own words in explaining the Convention to Parliament: "Under the Agreement we bind ourselves not to seek certain concessions of a certain kind in certain spheres. *But these are only*

\* See Treaties containing Guarantees or Engagements by Great Britain (Miscellaneous, No. 2, 1898).

*British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia."* What the Convention did, if we are to accept the British and Russian official explanations of its object, was to render easier than it had been before the task of both Powers in maintaining the integrity of the Persian frontiers and the sovereignty of the Persian Government. They were in future to act together at the Persian Court with this common object in view. Having entered into a mutual arrangement to pursue this common object, they would also be able to keep themselves and their subjects in check against any violations of the *fundamental principle*. That is the obvious meaning of the language used in the Spring-Rice despatch, and to that meaning both Governments are irrevocably committed by their own official or public declarations. As for the *unofficial* nature of the Spring-Rice despatch, the word must surely be used by Sir Edward Grey in a purely technical sense. It consists to a large extent of citations made from Sir Edward Grey's own words and of quotations from official declarations communicated by M. Isvolsky to our Government. The statement that it was not sent home because it did not seem sufficiently important can surely not be accepted as conclusive. I am anxious not to embitter the controversy in any way, and I, of course, accept without reserve Sir Edward Grey's statement that he himself had never seen it. I would only observe that it was well known to all those who had followed Persian affairs, and that it had been quoted over and over again in the Press of this country. It contains a concise and perfectly clear statement of the objects which the two Powers had in view when they concluded their Convention. It had been perused by Mr. Shuster before he accepted service in Persia. It would be dishonourable to repudiate it, even if it were possible. I have shown that it does not stand alone, and that we cannot repudiate it even if we might now feel inclined to do so.

It is for this reason that we are precluded from taking

very seriously Sir Edward Grey's speech of February 21 last. Even the gods sometimes nod ; and it may be unkind on the part of humbler mortals to do more than nudge their elbow and try to recall them to a sense of reality. If that speech stood alone, the Anglo-Russian Convention would constitute a standing menace to vital British interests in Asia. Turn, for instance, to the later passages of the speech : " I deprecate the constant attacks that are made in this House as to what has and is taking place in the North of Persia. . . . I am not in a position very often to have any information in regard to some of the statements. Even if I had, I do not consider it my business to investigate all the circumstances on each side, and then to say exactly what is true. . . . Russia in the North of Persia finds it necessary to take certain measures to protect her trade or her strategic interests. Those are not necessarily a breach of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Look at the second paragraph of the Preamble, which begins : ' Considering that each of the Powers, Great Britain and Russia, has for geographical and economic reasons a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia.' With a Preamble like that you cannot say for a moment, when either country takes steps to intervene in a particular region in Persia, where it has been admitted by the Preamble to have special interests, and to take action to protect those interests which it considers in danger—you cannot consider that as necessarily a breach of the Agreement. There are certain things in the Anglo-Russian Agreement which would be a distinct breach. A breach of Article 1 or Article 2 of the Agreement is, of course, a thing which would be taken up. In all the criticism which has been offered in this House in respect to the Agreement, only once that I remember has there been any reference to the really operative articles of the Agreement, or any allegation, at any rate, that any one of these had been broken." Or, again : " It is impossible for us, in different parts of the world, when disputes arise between other

countries, to undertake to be the arbiter in those disputes." And he applies this general statement to disputes between the Russian and Persian Governments in Northern Persia. The impression conveyed by these passages—I do not say that it was intended to be conveyed—is that the action of Russia in Northern Persia must be regarded as a matter of comparative indifference to ourselves, unless any distinct British interest in that region be affected. Further, that the Preamble of the Convention justifies what has taken place in Northern Persia; and that it is not so much the Preamble upon which we must lay emphasis as the particular articles of the Convention.

Now, if such passages could really be taken seriously, we should be face to face with two distinct and mutually destructive interpretations of the Anglo-Russian Convention. One would be the interpretation conveyed in the name of the Governments of Great Britain and Russia to the Persian Government in September, 1907, and given to the House of Commons in February, 1908; the other would be Sir Edward Grey's interpretation of February, 1912. The entirely heterodox nature of the later version compels us to regard it as due either to a lapse of memory or to defects in expression.

But the fallacies which underlie it must be made clear. In the first place, there are distinct British interests in Northern Persia, and these are directly menaced by what has taken place there. To mention only one, there is the considerable trade of Great Britain with Tabriz in Northern Persia, the result of a century of British effort. The city of Tabriz is at present occupied and practically administered by Russia. Does that fact alone not constitute a menace to a distinct British interest in Northern Persia? Secondly, if you enlarge the meaning of that portion of the Preamble which was quoted by Sir Edward Grey to include strategic interests, as he himself enlarged it, at what point will you be able to stop? Turkey has also strategic interests in the North of Persia—interests which are vital.

to the future of the Ottoman Empire in Asia. When the Russian troops pour in on one side, these interests dictate to the Turkish Government the necessity of redressing the balance. But these considerations, important though they no doubt are, sink into comparative insignificance beside the menace to the *fundamental principle* of the Anglo-Russian Convention which is involved by the continued presence of the Russian troops in Northern Persia and by the proceedings of Russian agents and officials in that region. We have not all of us forgotten the official interpretation placed upon the Convention, and we shall take care that others are not permitted to forget it. Everything, as Lord Percy declared in 1908, depends on the interpretation. Was there anything, he asked, to prevent the creation of spheres of influence? What assurances had we received from the Russian Government on such points? And Sir Edward Grey replied that the so-called spheres laid down in the Convention were "only British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia." Then there was the declaration, officially conveyed to our own Government, of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the effect that: "This Agreement between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is upon a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms." In view of all that has gone before, how can it be contended for a single moment that the actions of Russia in Northern Persia are a matter of comparative indifference to ourselves, as co-signatory with the Russian Government of that Convention? The whole Convention falls with the fall of its *fundamental principle*, which is that the independence and integrity of Persia shall be respected absolutely. The words I have underlined are the official and precise instructions given by Sir Edward Grey to our

representative in Teheran. Surely it was, and remains, the business of our Foreign Minister to satisfy himself that any action taken by the two Powers, or by either of them, in Persia should be conformable with the fundamental principle.

As for the breach of particular articles of the Convention—in Afghanistan, in Persia or in Thibet—to which, Sir Edward Grey complains, no reference has been made, does anyone suppose that the Russian Government would take the trouble, even if it had the desire, to commit a breach of these articles at the present time? Nothing would be more absurd while, under cover of the Convention, the greater part of Persia is being absorbed. The point made by Sir Edward Grey is surely a mere debating point, scarcely worthy of a responsible statesman. So is the point made against Mr. Ponsonby, that Mr. Ponsonby was, in fact, inviting him to prevent Russia from regaining and retaining the influence which she possessed, in Northern Persia before the Convention, was signed. Whatever legitimate influence she then possessed was of a commercial nature; and it was the object of the Convention, as officially interpreted, to prevent this kind of influence, whether exercised by Russia or by ourselves, from being extended to the internal affairs of Persia. Persia was to be given a free hand—she was, even to be given assistance—in effecting her own regeneration. When she took that task in hand in a really serious manner, Russia came down with a heavy hand upon her, and we looked in vain for Sir Edward Grey and the *fundamental principle*. Nobody desires to deprive Russia of any legitimate influence in Northern Persia. Let her apply her capital and industry to the development of the country. It will be good for Persia, good for Russia, and good for the rest of the world. That is quite a different thing from covering the country with her troops and performing acts of sovereignty which are wholly incompatible with the bed-rock principle of her Convention—with ourselves.

One general reflection is forcibly suggested by Sir Edward Grey's speech. Nobody who listened to it could fail to be painfully impressed by the utter want of sympathy which it displayed from beginning to end with the Persian people. One could scarcely credit the evidence of one's eyes and of one's ears that a pronouncement of this cold, hard, pitiless nature should be delivered from that hench. I have already alluded to one of the indirect results of the Persian question—the effect which it has had in stimulating public interest in the conduct of Foreign Affairs. It has also proved to be a touchstone of habits of thought among our statesmen. One of the great disadvantages of keeping Foreign Affairs outside party controversy is that the practice tends to stereotype the strictly official and departmental view in the conduct of our foreign relations. This is almost always a narrow view. When it is expounded by a Liberal Minister, the naked hollowness and inadequacy of the conception is rendered even more conspicuous; and the result is that we have often to turn to the leaders of the party out of office for a more reasonable and also authoritative exposition of the true temper and objects of British policy. Throughout the speeches of Lord Curzon on the Persian question there runs a vein of truly Liberal sentiment and principle, which contrasts, as white to black, with the speeches of the Liberal Foreign Secretary. This contrast is, no doubt, partly due to the modern practice to which I have alluded; but it is also interesting as a psychological fact.

Few causes could be better calculated to elicit the sympathies of Liberals than the cause of Persia; and few questions call more loudly for the application of Liberal principles. That is where the real difficulty comes in of our "condominium" with the Russian Government in Persia. But anyone who has given serious thought to the future of our relations with Russia will probably have come to the conclusion that, if they are to be productive of benefits to the world at large—if healthy fruit and not

poisonous plants are to be their outcome — then it is in the direction of Liberalizing Russian policy that our friendship must become operative. In the declarations of M. Isvolsky we have already received satisfactory evidence that hopes such as these are not necessarily fantastic. But, if they are to be realized, if the friendship is to continue and be rendered productive, British policy in relation to Russia must be watchful and persistent, and not remiss, forgetful and indifferent to the end in view. In Persia we have a field where the character of Anglo-Russian friendship will be given its future shape and imprint. Should that imprint be reactionary and destructive of the liberties of Persia, there can be no doubt that the axe will have been laid to the very stem of the tree of Anglo-Russian co-operation in Asiatic affairs.

Can Great Britain afford—it may be, under the pressure of circumstances—to throw over the *fundamental principle* of the Anglo-Russian Convention? From Sir Edward Grey's recent language it might almost appear that we could afford to do so. Moreover, I notice in certain quarters of the Press, probably inspired from official sources, a tendency to regard as quixotic any efforts on our part to protect the liberties of Persia. In this connection it is only fair to Sir Edward Grey to state that he did appear to contemplate the possibility of a failure of his declared policy at the time when, in 1908, he explained to the House of Commons the meaning of the Convention. He seemed to argue that, even in the event of such a failure, the Indian frontier would be safe. But those passages of his speech of 1908 are open to a crushing reply. He told us that strategic considerations had been paramount with the Government in making the Agreement concerning Persia. He argued that the key to India lay in Seistan, which had been included in the British sphere. We were at all events safe, he went on to say, from the danger of a Russian railway through Seistan to the coast of the Indian Ocean. I am

sorry to say that we cannot accept this version of the origin of the Convention either as quite accurate or as complete. If strategic interests were really paramount in deciding us to make this Agreement with Russia, why was not the Defence Committee called together and invited to pronounce upon the strategic considerations involved? Moreover, everybody knows that our real object in making the Agreement was to include Russia in our political entente with France or, in other words, to constitute a rival camp in Europe for the purpose of balancing the Triple Alliance. There may be much to be said for a policy of this nature as, equally, there is much to be said against it. But there can be little doubt that this policy in the hands of Sir Edward Grey has proved a failure. It has brought us into unnecessary antagonism with Germany—a country which constitutes one of the great civilizing forces in the world and provides us with one of our best markets. It has involved us in great sacrifices of paramount British interests in various parts of the world. If we are to continue to pursue this policy, it must be worked in a different spirit. And our friends in the Triple Entente must be brought to pay more regard to the vital interests of this country.

Now, the future of Persia and, it must be added, the future of those regions which constitute the Ottoman Empire in Asia are both intimately bound up with the future of the British Empire. If we are not to become a great military Power, if our people are to be spared the burden of military conscription, then it is all-important to us that the military Powers of Europe should be kept at a safe distance from our Indian Empire. That is why any form or measure of absorption of Persia by Russia—a process which is not dictated by any expansive needs of her population, but is artificially stimulated by a clique—is so dangerous to ourselves. For the sake of argument, let us limit it to Northern Persia, and examine in what direction it would lead.

The area delimited by the Convention as subject to Russian industrial development is an area larger than that of France. It includes the modern and the more ancient capitals of Persia and most of her principal cities. Strategically, it contains the keys of the Turkish Empire in Asia. Any Power which is politically predominant in that region controls the machinery which is capable of operating over vast regions in Asia. And if that Power were to proceed to military occupation, the time could not be far distant when her frontier would march with our own frontier. The Turkish Empire, our natural ally in this part of the world, would then be weakened beyond repair, and we should have to trust to our own military resources to defend a frontier which we could not leave to look after itself.

Seistan is only one of the keys to India, and Sir Edward Grey admitted that the occupation of Northern Persia would provide Russia with two doors to Herat instead of one. But we need not labour questions of this kind. If Russia were in occupation of Northern Persia, for how long could we keep her out of Seistan?

Could you erect a stable Persian Government in what is called the "neutral sphere"? Even if you could, which is very doubtful, you would have lost the weight of the Turkish factor, and you would only be putting off the evil day. It is no doubt for these and analogous reasons that Lord Curzon in his book on Persia summed up the situation by declaring that the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Persia must be regarded as a cardinal article in our Imperial creed. I commend this phrase to those of his own party who are inclined to wink at present developments in Persia.

During the past few months, ultimatums to Persia have been raining in from Russia. Mr. Shuster, who was rapidly restoring order to the Persian finances, has been dismissed by order of Russia, and so has the Persian Parliament. It

was agreed that Persian compliance should be promptly followed by the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Persia. The promise remains unfulfilled. But these proceedings have had the effect of opening the eyes of British public opinion, and they will not easily again become closed. As a result, the situation has grown slightly more easy, and the ex-Shah, whose operations were the prime cause of the present troubles, has been removed from the country. It is understood that our Government has notified that of Russia that we can never recognize him as Shah of Persia. If the Russian Government be really desirous of acting in a spirit of good faith towards us, how comes it that it does not join in this declaration? As co-signatory with ourselves of the Protocol of 1909, under which the ex-Shah was removed from the clutches of the Constitutional forces; and as responsible for his "escape" and return to Persia, the Russian Government must surely see that to persist in their ambiguous attitude towards the ex-Shah is not exactly the best way to allay British suspicions of Russian policy. Persia can never really settle down while the ex-Shah is held *in terrorem* over her head. As matters now stand, the future of Persia still hangs in the balance, and that balance is held in the hands of her two powerful neighbours, who are engaged in the impossible task of thinking out a common formula for the expression of opposite policies.

Certain conditions have been presented by both Powers to the Persian Government for acceptance in return for a small loan. They display little consideration for the Persian Government, and the rate of interest on the loan is 7 per cent. instead of 5 per cent., which was the interest on previous advances. Should they be accepted by the Persian Government without very close scrutiny, they may involve the destruction of Persian independence and the establishment of a Russian Protectorate. The Persian Government is asked to accept the Anglo-Russian Con-

vention and to make it the basis of their policy. What does this mean? If Persia was to be bound, the Persian Government should in the first instance have been made a party to the Convention. In what sense is that Government invited so late in the day to base its policy upon the Convention? The operative articles provide that neither Great Britain nor Russia are to seek concessions on their own behalf or *on behalf of third parties* in certain regions of Persia; and they are not to oppose one another in applying for such concessions in certain other regions. Is the Persian Government to accept the principle that *third parties* are to be ruled out in applications for concessions in these regions? If so, what is to become of existing Persian treaties with foreign countries, which provide most-favoured-nation treatment for the commerce and industry of those countries in Persia? Such is the question which at once suggests itself to any student of Persian affairs, and it requires an authoritative answer. Only by the acceptance of some form of protectorate, and by its recognition by the other countries concerned, can the Persian Government, it would seem, base its future policy upon a principle which would violate the rights and privileges of such countries in Persia.

Another condition is that the Persian Volunteers should be disbanded, and also the irregular troops; and that in their place should be organized a small, regular army. The Volunteers and the Bakhtiari levies have proved in the past to be the main supports of the Liberal party in Persia—the party which has given Persia her Constitution and her Parliament. Sir Edward Grey was asked in the House of Commons the other day whether the proposed new Persian army was to be officered by Russians. His reply was, "It may be." I very much doubt whether even the Russian Government would make such an absurd proposal. There is no analogy between the Persian regular army and the small brigade of Persian Cossacks which was

organized under Russian officers as a kind of bodyguard in Teheran. The Persian regular army is entrusted with the custody of the frontiers ; and has Sir Edward Grey so completely forgotten the interests of Turkey as to suggest that Russian officers should be employed on the Turkish frontier, while he himself has so jealously provided against their employment in the regions which adjoin the Indian frontier ?

PEASANT SCHOLARSHIPS *VERSUS* PATCH-WORK COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR INDIA.\*

By S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

CONCEDING that literacy is better than illiteracy, in spite of the discontent and political unrest "a little learning" engenders, and that it is the duty of the Government of India, regardless of consequences, to provide for mass education to the extent reasonably possible, we have to consider how best, in view of existing conditions, this can be performed.

The circumstances which make 315,000,000 of Indians obedient to the just and centralized rule of a comparative handful of English sojourners are common knowledge. For our present purpose it suffices to divide the peoples of India broadly into two categories—urbans and rustics—with their respective dependent classes. The former—the town dwellers—including with them the bulk of the inhabitants of large villages with considerable bazaars, trade and industries not directly subserving husbandry, aggregate roundly 80,000,000, the latter—the village dwellers—235,000,000. Of these latter two-thirds are "agriculturists"—viz., hereditary landowners; tenants, and other cultivators, and the remaining one-third are their dependents, menials, and handicraftsmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, leather workers, potters, weavers, etc. These divisions are rough,

\* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

and may be disputed, but, whatever the exact proportions are, the facts are indisputable that the great majority of the population of India is agricultural, and that upon their contentment rests not only the good government of the country but the very stability of our rule.

Hitherto, these toiling docile tens of millions have rarely shown impatience with us, but, when they have, we have invariably, by partially remedying or ameliorating their grievances, induced them to relapse into their normal state of uncomplaining passivity. Given his daily bread, a few coppers for clothes and necessary luxuries, such as tobacco, and immunity from excessive harassment by moneylenders, officials and lawyers, the average peasant submits to his lot ; the yeoman farmer of good stock has larger wants, the hereditary landlord larger still. On the whole, then, when free from distressing poverty, Indian rustics of all degrees are benevolently disposed towards our bureaucratic administration, the saving grace of our "good intention" excusing our mistakes in their kindly thoughts.

Our root error has always appeared to me that in most of our legislation we have assumed that the business mind which actuates urbans, outside the low- and no-caste classes, is inherent in all Indians, whereas the truth is that what may suit town-dwellers may not suit agriculturists. As a consequence, much that we have devised for the good of all India has not benefited but harmed the rural masses. I need not labour the point. Evidence in its support, *qua* Upper India, at least, may be read in a little book I published in 1886, called "Musalmans and Money Lenders." I am here solely concerned with the educational problem, how best, to quote from the title of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, "to make better provision for the extension of elementary education" throughout India.

I have only space to glance at the position as it is to-day, or rather was in 1907, when the last quinquennial review of education in India was issued.

In that year fully £4,000,000 sterling were spent on edu-

cation, the Government finding 55 per cent., municipalities and the boys' fathers 25 per cent., and "all other sources, private and public," 20 per cent. The gross outlay was a round million more than at the end of the previous quinquennium (1902), and probably, when the next review is issued (1912), there will be further increase of possibly another £1,000,000.

Dividing teaching institutions into elementary—*i.e.*, those in which instruction is only conveyed in the local vernacular—and more advanced—*i.e.*, those in which English is either taught or used as the medium for imparting knowledge—the former absorbed about one-third of the total. As regards the proportion of "agriculturists" to "non-agriculturists" under teaching, the former probably now make up in the elementary schools an average of 35 per cent. of the pupils—the percentages varying according to locality. In the more advanced schools their numbers will be found to progressively diminish to vanishing point. I cannot be less indefinite because, so far as I can discover, there are no statistics in which pupils are grouped under the above two categories, though such a classification would be of far greater practical importance than that adopted in some of the returns—viz., "caste or race divisions according to religion." There are pages of figures, too, on "aboriginal and backward tribes," but nowhere a line on "agriculturists"!

To me the omission is a serious shortcoming. It is reasonable to presume that, as in the framing of our laws and regulations, their effect on the peasant masses should be the question for first consideration, the Government, when shaping its educational policy and allocating funds in its furtherance, should have exact knowledge of the numbers and classes of agricultural children in the various schools of each province. As far as I know it has none. The want of this information illustrates a defect which runs through our whole administrative system. Were it remedied the disproportion between "agriculturists" and "non-agriculturists" in every grade of school would be con-

spicuous, and stiffen the back of a Government of "good intention" to resist the demands of the clamorous educated classes of the towns and remember its obligations to the village masses. In India it is quality not quantity which counts. A million literate peasants would be a greater power for good than two millions of other classes. When a young assistant, in the late sixties and early seventies, part of my duty was to inspect village schools. My practice was to order the sons of *zamīndārs* to stand up and then note the numbers of "agriculturists" and "non-agriculturists." Even in purely rural tracts far from any town, not 20 per cent. had any hereditary connection with land. The percentage now must be higher, but if it averages 10 per cent. in the secondary schools I should be agreeably surprised. For the last decade the Government has been pushing elementary education, and in 1907 out of an estimated total of 19,000,000 of boys of school-going age—say from 6 to 12—nearly 4,000,000—say one in five—were acquiring some sort of literacy. The number must be larger now. What the Government should know before it further increases its expenditure is how many of the boys in every class of every grade are "agricultural" and how many "non-agricultural." Until it has such information, much of its pecuniary encouragement of elementary education may be misdirected or at least not used to best advantage. As regards diffusion, examining the figures we have, Bengal has one elementary school to every four square miles of area, the Punjab to every thirty-one and the Central Provinces to every forty-five. Naturally the number of schools varies inversely to density of population and variety of occupations. Thus, Bengal is thickly inhabited and a hive of many livelihoods, in which the Government service, law, trade and manufactures attract in the order given. The other two provinces are strictly agricultural.

So long as education ends at ten or eleven years of age, and the teachers are drawn from life's failures, the smattering of "the three R's" acquired at school is not of great

help to agriculturists in after life. A peasant requires more than the ability to write his name or spell through the words of a newspaper. Unless he can read comprehendingly a bond or mortgage deed, and realize the meaning of simple and compound interest and little phrases such as "with share in *shāmilāt*" (common land), three or four years schooling on a child under an indifferent master leaves him hardly fitter for his future struggles against indebtedness than were he wholly illiterate.

India's infant Hodges, who do go to school, require good teaching to awaken their minds from the sleep of ages, but what chance have they of learning "the three R's" when the pay of their masters—and there are 140,000 of them—hardly averages 12s. a month, a good coolie's wage? Such a pitance, as the Director General of Education in India points out, is not enough "to attract to the profession a properly qualified set of men," and then he reflects despondently that "an increase in the pay of primary school-teachers of one rupee a month all round would cost seventeen lakhs a year on the present number of teachers." Undoubtedly, throughout India the pay of the instructional staff both in primary and lower-grade secondary schools is miserably inadequate, and consequently few educated men adopt teaching in those schools as a profession except as a *pis aller*. This fact explains why such a considerable percentage of those ranks are spiritless drudges or grievance-mongers, and why so many of their pupils in after life turn out almost illiterate and also indifferent citizens of the Empire.

Condensing my ideas on the educational situation in India as it is to-day into a few propositions: Central and Provincial Governments are now cautiously and liberally pushing mass education for boys both primary and lower secondary, and incline to leave the further development of higher education to State-aided or unaided Municipalities and private persons; professional and business classes are keenly alive to the advantages of a good education with

English as the medium for instruction ; the rural masses, conscious of their disabilities from illiteracy, are willing to have their boys instructed, but are largely shut out from sharing the opportunities enjoyed by urbans owing to poverty, distances to oearest schools, etc. Being needy, simple and almost inarticulate, whereas the professional and trading classes—often English speakers—are comparatively rich, sophisticated and vociferous, the Governments—Imperial and Provincial—both to their secretarial and education-departmental officers, have been less in touch with the former than with the latter, and have consequently in the past conceded too much to the pushful progressives of the towns. Since the creation of the new representative Coucils, agricultural India is vaguely expectant of betterment, yet fearful that, in the competition for educational favours, towns will benefit more than villages.

If we look into Mr. Gokhale's Bill we shall see that this fear is justified.

Few will dispute the wisdom of accepting his general proposition that, were money available, "elementary education should be gradually made compulsory throughout the Indian Empire," but everyone will agree that the antecedent postulate—provision of funds—is hopeless of fulfilment. In arguing his conteution, Mr. Gokhale laid stress on the lessons to be learnt from the achievements of Western nations who have successfully tackled and solved the problem. But what they have done is no guide for India, they being comparatively small, rich, compact, advanced communities, India a poor continent inhabited by struggling, diverse peoples, the great majority dependent on ooe precarious livelihood—husbandry. With us, only since 1870, has attendance at school been compulsory for all boys and girls up to fourteen, and the expenditure is enormous—about £21,000,000—and is still growing. In India, schooling is voluntary, and the outlay upon it comparatively inconsiderable.

A few figures will show under what mountains of dis-

abilities unknown in England India labours, in addition to those of diversities of races, beliefs, tongues and mental capacities. India's population is sevenfold and her area twenty-five fold greater than ours, yet her revenue is not nearly half of ours. With us, boys and girls over six years of age are under compulsory instruction, number 5,000,000 and cost annually about £4 a head. In India, out of 19,000,000 boys of school going age, 4,000,000 attend elementary school, and the expenditure on them is five shillings and sixpence a head. Perhaps the contrast between conditions in India and England can best be brought out by the following statement: One primary school serves 31 square miles in the Punjab and 45 in the Central Provinces—both agricultural countries—against only 4 in Bengal, a land of varied occupations. What the proportion is in this island, I do not know, but probably it averages roundly one to the square mile. In India the distances to be walked and the poverty of the parents make schooling impracticable for millions of boys. In the case of secondary schools, as they are mostly located in towns, they are generally beyond the reach of agriculturists. Thus, one serves 407 square miles in the Punjab, 1087 in the Central Provinces and 112 in Bengal.

Some may say, "These figures only show how mass education has been neglected in India." True, but in a continent in which the average daily income per inhabitant is said to be a penny, the Government cannot afford to spend much on popular education and the parents require the services of their sons from an early age. As a fact, the cost per head of population falls at a penny in India against ten shillings in England. Happily the Indian Government now recognizes that the penny should be doubled or even trebled—were that possible—and is doing its best to bring education nearer the homes of the poorest. But its best can never be much. To usefully teach 20,000,000 of boys—and I may add a like number of girls—to read, write, and cypher (including the finding of board and lodging for certainly

5 per cent. of them) would eat up more than a half of the Imperial and Provincial revenues of India. If in the next twenty-five years the Government can make its 1907 expenditure on elementary education 4,000,000 sterling, the extreme limit of possibility will have been attained.

That, as many zealous educationists contend, the money can be found by reducing the army, both the English and Indian sections thereof, and cutting down charges on the English element in the Civil administration and on public works finds no support from men of understanding.

In framing his bill, Mr. Gokhale regretfully recognizes what he calls the "limitations of the position," and for the present only seeks the empowering of Municipalities and District Boards, under strict safeguards against precipitate or imprudent action, to introduce compulsion within selected areas inside their respective jurisdictions, first for boys only and later, he hopes, for girls as well.

On the crucial question of finance the bill is ominously vague and unsatisfactory. It authorizes the imposition of a school cess by the bodies electing for compulsion, and even the collecting of petty fees from parents with incomes over £10 a year, and leaves to the Government the decision as to the proportions of the whole extra expenditure to be met by those contributors and itself.

The proposal was, on the whole, sympathetically received. On the question of compulsion, the general attitude of the Members of the Council who spoke was non-committal. A cogent objection was raised that as Municipal and District Boards are either under the influence or control of the District Officer, he would in every case be the authority ultimately responsible, hence, before the new departure could operate, it would be necessary to reconstruct the Boards on a genuinely popular basis. Further, it was doubted whether, taxation being already heavy, any locality could bear the extra burden of a new education cess. In fact, in spite of the terminology of the financial clauses of the bill, it was generally recognized that the chief pay-

master must be the Government—i.e., the general tax-payers, not the local cess payers.

Universal compulsion being ruled out as impossible, why should the Government accept the patchwork compulsion of the bill, and thus force the ignorant masses of taxpayers to pay for a measure which could only operate to their undoing? If some rich Municipalities and a few square miles of exceptionally prosperous Arcadias, such as may be found on some of the state-canal-irrigated tracts, want universal compulsion within their respective areas, why should they not be required to pay for it? Why should the already favoured or happily placed few be further benefited at the expense of the poor tax-laden many? The utmost that can be conceded is, I submit, that if anywhere a large majority of citizens *bona fide* vote for compulsion and the imposition on themselves of a heavy education cess the State might consent, on conditions, to meet a fractional part, say 10 per cent. of the extra expenditure. But, even so, such action would not be quite fair upon the agricultural masses of the country, the poorest, most ignorant and heaviest weighted communities in India.

In spite of this objection, I think Mr. Gokhale's scheme should have a fair trial, provided that in its ultimate form about 90 per cent. of the additional cost be thrown on the localities—preferentially Municipalities—electing for compulsion, education cess, and school fees.

Conceivably, universal elementary education at the charge of the Government might be tried experimentally throughout some large rural areas, say a civil district or division in each presidency. Though that, most of the beneficiaries being agriculturists, would be less objectionable than Mr. Gokhale's project, it would still be patch-work and open to the other criticism advanced against the concept or intention underlying the finance of the bill under consideration.

Should that bill, amended in the direction suggested by

me, become law, it would, I think, be unnecessary to restrict its scope to Municipalities alone, because it is hardly conceivable that any local government, except in a very rare case, would approve of any District Board's proposals for compulsion and the levy of a special cess. That body's jurisdiction lies outside municipal areas, and in the villages indigence and illiteracy are the common lot. The contrary is the case in many towns, if we exclude from the account low- and no- castes, say 15 per cent. of the inhabitants. As their social superiors—Musalmans as well as Hindus—are exclusive, arrangements for teaching the children of menials and bottom-grade handicraftsmen would be difficult, and it would frequently be found that the educational zeal of the cesspayers would cool to freezing point when they realized that their money would be partly applied to the teaching of their serving dependents. Thus, if, even in such municipalities, Mr. Gokhale's scheme, as amended, should frequently fail to materialise, how much more likely is it that it would be a dead letter to District Boards?

A further consideration is this—the bulk of the funds administered by local bodies is already earmarked for fixed services, the percentages to be spent on education, dispensaries, police, conservancy, roads, lighting, etc., being all prescribed by the paternal Government. Further, in the Punjab, perhaps elsewhere, an education cess of 1 per cent. on the land revenue has always been collected—it is now merged in what is called a "consolidated" cess—and the pity of it has been that, for fully fifty years, the money so procured from the agriculturists has been largely employed in the teaching of urban boys and has consequently contributed to the impoverishment of those known as "the finest peasantry in India."

Assuming from the King-Emperor's announcement a few weeks ago at the Delhi coronation Durbar, and the known intentions of the Government, that, in the next few years, further grants for the promotion of popular education will

gradually be increased up to a figure approximating to half a million sterling, and that Mr. Gokhale's bill if not thrown out will be passed with its financial clauses altered to the extent or in the direction suggested by me, we have to consider how the money to be allotted can be employed to best advantage. Obviously, the first duty of the Government is to make education accessible and desirable to the agricultural communities of India. Obviously, too, that is impossible without better paid teachers, the wide bestowal of small peasant scholarships and the opening of new schools. In what proportions funds, as they become available, should be distributed under those three heads, it is difficult to suggest. My idea is that, after setting aside say £20,000 for grants-in-aid to practically self-supporting elementary schools established under the modified Gokhale project, of the £480,000 in hand about 50 per cent. should go to teachers, 45 per cent. to scholars and only 5 per cent. to new schools. On the hypothesis that the yearly capitation disbursements to teachers and scholars will average £3, and that the annual cost to the Government of each new school will be £10, the beneficiaries would be 80,000 schoolmasters, 72,000 pupils, and 2,400 new schools.

This rough distribution is open to the criticism that more extended provision should be made for the teachers, as that proposed leaves 60,000 unprovided for, and that consequently it would be better to reduce the number of scholarships, defer the opening of new schools, and use the money so obtained in giving the whole teaching staff a satisfying or at least living wage. It may be so, but many teachers would be home-tied youngsters, and for the first few years of their service at least not unwilling, for a small stipend, to do easy work—six or seven hours a day—in their own villages. As to new schools, it seems to me that, wherever there are, say, 300 congregated habitations, and the head men of the village are willing to provide the accommodation, it would be a mistake for the Government to refuse to find money to pay for a schoolmaster and a few primers, boards and slates.

On the question of a widely diffused bestowal of agricultural scholarships there must be differences of opinion. My reasons for advocating them are shortly :

1. Though the agriculturists of India are the chief tax-payers, "the pillars of the State" so to say, their interests in the past have been less considered than those of town-dwellers ; they have therefore a right to special preferential treatment.
2. As far as I can judge, only by the means proposed will needy parents appreciate education and make personal sacrifices to send their sons to school.
3. One scholar will be a shining example to a whole community and do more "for the advancement of learning" than the exhortations of a whole succession of Tahsildars, Education Inspectors and District Officers. Imagine the emulous envy excited by the sudden blossoming out of a dirty little goatherd into a clean, nicely-dressed scholar, the proud possessor of three or four rupees a month with the expectation later of a billet in the Police, Army or District Office.

I have now shortly put before you what appears to be the competing arguments for the Gokhale scheme as it stands and as corrected by certain financial modifications. I have also stated what I believe to be the right line for the Government to take. Further, it seems to me that there is no getting away from the conclusion that, though the first duty of the Government is to make education possible and attractive for the agricultural masses, the State should also help those urban and other classes who are willing and able to help themselves by supplementing receipts from their self-imposed cesses and fees to the extent of about 10 per cent. on collections. The smallness of the demand on the general taxpayers against the largeness of the funds to be provided by each locality would practically remove the objection that most of the grant-in-aid would in each case be drawn from the ignorant masses of the community.

I am aware that the proposed solution will appear to some

as an extension of the so-called "indefensible" grant-in-aid system, which, to quote from Sir Roland Wilson, "taxes the poor and stupid for the benefit of those who are rich and clever." However that may be, the system has been common to all civilised States since the beginnings of history—for instance it is the leverage employed for working the Ten Commandments—and without it poor human nature would fall to the dead level of individual mediocrity, the imagined ideal of Socialists.

I submit, then, that until a better is established my solution holds the field.

## INDIAN HOME RULE.\*

By H. G. KEENE, C.I.E.

THAT the preparation for Indian autonomy should be initiated by one who has devoted a great part of his official life to similar measures for Ireland seems appropriate. Lord Morley has probably by this time found that the difficulties which beset the path in the one case are by no means absent from the other. If the Irish Protestants, with their strong religious opinions and their traditions of a lost ascendancy, regard with abhorrence and anxiety the prospect of being subjected to the descendants of those over whom their fathers once held sway, there is a large minority in India in a similar position, about one-fourth of the entire population being Moslems, whose ancestors were the ruling class in most parts of the Peninsula for many hundred years. The violent and often sanguinary conflicts to which these animosities give rise must strike a wise and humane statesman and lead him to reflect on the certain consequences of leaving a large and important minority exposed to hatred and oppression. The parallel, indeed, is far from complete; the so-called Nationalists in Ireland being not very different in race and customs from their Protestant fellow-subjects, or from the people of the predominant country. The Celtic element in the blood may be larger, though there are districts in the South of Ireland where the population is of Saxon origin, but fore-

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

most in hostility, and the most efficient leader of Irish agitation in modern times was Charles Stewart Parnell, a man of Saxon origin, a landlord by position, and a Protestant in creed. In India, on the other hand, all the differences of race and religion are present and productive of incorrigible animosity. More especially do the Hindus differ from ourselves in the way of colour; and that difference is of greater significance than was outlined in the days of Wilberforce and Clarkson, when our crockery was so often adorned with a picture of a kneeling negro, asking if he was not a man and a brother? The present condition of society in the United States would be enough to answer this question, Sambo being apparently farther off than ever from asserting his fraternity in that land of the free. But there is another piece of evidence especially significant in India, where the Vedic Aryans use the same word "Varna" for both colour and caste, and the reason of this is not far to seek. The burnished livery of the sun is not acquired in a generation or two; it is the work of many centuries, during which a concomitant evolution has been going on productive of deep-seated diversity and even hostility, in regard to races that have been otherwise reared. If, therefore, the policy of surrendering the control of administration is difficult in a small island inhabited by white men, how much more embarrassing the situation when we are called upon to extend similar confidence in the case of a vast region peopled by races which, however varied in blood and traditions, have never shown themselves, in any case, capable of managing their own affairs.

Amongst other peculiarities that distinguish the Eastern from the Western mind should not be forgotten their different habits of thought and reasoning. The Briton, with the exception of certain Scottish metaphysicians, has no love for abstract principles; and such general rules as he may take for his guidance are usually founded on concrete facts. The Hindu, on the other hand, is always delighted with *a priori* assumptions from which he proceeds

to deduce the gravest conclusions. When he declares that the abilities and capabilities of one man are exactly similar to those of another man, he not only forgets the caste system which pervades the whole social life of his race, but he lays down a principle full of practical peril. This dangerous course, however, has been in recent times attracting some of those British statesmen who have had influence over the affairs of India; and it is somewhat unfortunate that the first impulse to Indian unrest was due to the great politician who was Lord Morley's leader. When Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, the Indian Viceroyship was held by the Marquis of Ripon, his faithful follower; and this Viceroy, doubtless under Gladstonian inspiration, introduced into the length and breadth of the land what was considered the inestimable boon of municipal self-government. For that boon, indeed, there was no general demand; on the contrary, the persons upon whom local powers were conferred were disposed to look upon it as a special form of oppression! What, they asked, are the District Officers appointed for, if not to manage the matters of local administration for which we have neither taste nor leisure? They argued that they had no care for roads or drains, no special interest in sanitation; if the Government in its wisdom regarded such things as matters of importance, the Government was all-powerful, and they could not object; but the Government should at least do these things through its own officers. Whatever may be the present state of things that was the way in which the first essay in self-government was at the time received. In this connection it may be interesting to notice how the general administration of the Viceroy struck the Minister who assumed charge of the post of Indian Secretary just at the time of Lord Ripon's retirement, Lord Randolph Churchill, whose industry and skill, with the help of able assistants at the India Office, had enabled him to master, in a comparatively short time, the essential details of his important charge.

In the speech in which the Budget was introduced at the

end of the summer session of 1885, the Secretary of State for India made use of the following remarkable language :

"Lord Ripon had prosperous times to deal with, and an increasing revenue. . . . All dangers had apparently passed away so far as foreign affairs were concerned, and as far as they had any bearing upon Indian finances; and Lord Ripon and his counsellors laid themselves down and slept. All indirect taxation of any value was remitted; the Customs Duty was almost totally abolished and the Salt Duty was reduced. In 1882-83 the Indian Army was reduced by five cavalry regiments and sixteen infantry regiments. The British Army was allowed to fall to 10,000 men below its proper strength. . . .

"No frontier railways were commenced; no roads were begun; no preparations were made for the defence of a long and difficult frontier. . . .

"In 1882 the Russian Government, with the frankest candour, called our attention to their proceedings in Central Asia and invited us to delimit the frontier of Afghanistan; but the only reply they received was a dull and sullen reply, as of a man under the influence of a narcotic. Our ally, the Ameer of Afghanistan, also sent many warnings. . . .

"Then followed the fruitless frontier negotiations, and Lord Ripon came home and Lord Dufferin went out, not one hour too soon for the safety of India and the tranquillity of the East.

". . . Then came the additional military expenditure, from three to four millions; and the result of it all is now before the House in the deficit in the Indian accounts of a million and a half and in the permanent extra military charge of no less than two millions a year. . . . The expenditure on civil buildings was allowed to be increased by over one million a year. The Famine Insurance Fund, on which we prided ourselves, has been proved in time of trial to be illusory. India interests were so clumsily, so stupidly handled that progress has been thrown back almost for a generation; . . . and I hold up that Viceroyalty, and the

Government responsible for it, to the censure and the condemnation of the British and the Indian peoples."

These passages cited from the Budget speech of a Secretary of State, who spoke within seven months of Lord Ripon's retirement, with the full command of the materials available in his office, show that there was a side of Lord Ripon's administration by no means advantageous to the interests of India; and they form an estimate which ought not to be overlooked by those who are disposed to rate that ruler high on account of his concessions to Nationalist desires. What is the use of introducing self-government in cities and towns of a country for whose protection no adequate provision is made? After the lapse of years we see a follower of Mr. Gladstone proposing to widen the path opened at that distant date; and it is both interesting and important to ascertain whether that path is likely to lead. In the beginning of this paper the policy announced by Lord Morley was spoken of as preparatory, and it will be well to state here the reasons which indicate that the new system can hardly form a permanent solution of the problem. In doing this, which is unavoidable, a short survey should be taken of the past. The India which existed before the advent of the British is perfectly intelligible; it presented a wide scene of conflict and confusion in which, according to contemporary testimony, no man could hope to preserve life or property save by the strength of his own right hand and his own resolution. The Mogul Empire was crumbling, and the Mahrattas of the Deccan had obtained a predominance for the exercise of which they were but ill-qualified. Considerable fragments of Moslem dominion still stood out above the deluge; and in the general confusion of these jarring elements the very foundations of society were almost dissolved. The India of the Company is not less intelligible; province after province was rescued from anarchy by the skill and the courage of a remarkable series of men; while their employers at home contrived, with no small success, to combine the interests of

themselves and their countrymen with a very considerable provision of welfare for the Indian populations. But with the extinction of the Company a new era was opened with various measures of reform which had landed us in the present crisis. Concessions have been constantly going on and they naturally led to fresh demands, and we have now arrived at the threshold of that state of things foretold in the first quarter of the last century by Munro and Mount-stuart Elphinstone,\* when the last step towards separation is coming in sight. Those great men always declared that the natives of India must be admitted to the emoluments of office as soon as they showed the necessary qualifications. The following extract from one of the minutes recorded by Sir T. Munro, when Governor of Madras, shows an opinion far in advance of his time, the subsequent adoption of which has done much to smooth the path to self-government.

In writing to Mr. Canning about a year after his arrival at Madras, he said :

"Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from power and trust and emolument, is much more efficacious in depressing than all our laws and school-books can do in elevating, their character. We are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people, and the keeping them, at the same time, in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other."

Munro subsequently enlarged upon this theme; and the first result of his arguments appeared in a memorable passage in the East India Company's Charter Act of 1833, in which there was inserted the memorable provision that

\* For a statement of Elphinstone's views, see his life in the Rulers of India Series; "Mountstuart Elphinstone," by J. S. Cotton, M.A., pp. 184, 185.

"No native of the said territory (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disqualified from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company."

The qualifications so far as they depend on the intellectual faculties, can hardly be denied and the general rectitude of the Indian officials is testified by the large extent to which they now discharge the functions of the judicial bench. But there is another sort of justice which must be disseminated far more widely before British control can be safely or honourably withheld, and it is principally concerned with the administration of financial affairs and the equitable treatment of minorities.

A very intelligent Hindu once observed on a very peculiar danger of the British Government in India; "that Government," he said, "was too just for its own interest." In a like spirit an intelligent foreign visitor, Count Goblet d'Alviella, has recorded his impression that the people of India thought the English more just than kind. It may, therefore, be concluded that the principle of justice in its wider form has hardly spread; and that the Hindu feeling is that justice may be very well in a law-court if the British masters of the country would kindly allow them to hold their lands rent-free, to repudiate the home charges, and to molest their fellow Moslem countrymen. Surely it would be premature to establish Home Rule in India until public opinion becomes perfectly sound on these subjects. Then, but not till then, may the people of this country withdraw from all direct control over Indian affairs, leaving the Indian leaders, if they should so desire, to arrange for a British Protectorate on terms to be settled by the mutual consent of both parties.

In the meanwhile the development of reform now promised by Lord Morley can only be regarded as transitory. An India largely administered by Asiatics, yet endowed with a rough imitation of British methods and

British institutions, but without an adequate recognition of the cardinal principles above indicated, can hardly be expected to endure; and our Hindu friends would do well to turn from ignorant or calumnious misrepresentations and ponder the facts in a spirit of calm consideration. The revenue system originally founded by a great native statesman, is often incorrectly described as a tax upon the land. It is, in fact, the reverse of a tax, being a concession to the managers of the estates amounting, generally, to fifty per cent. of the net profits originally regarded as payable to the State.\* So long as these payments continue to be made they are a relief to the general taxpayer, thus forming an almost complete nationalization of the soil and

\* Strabo, the Greek geographer, writing near the beginning of the Christian era, says of the East, "All the land is royal"; and from his day to our own this has continued to be the Oriental doctrine. No private ownership in the soil any more than in other gifts of Nature—the sunshine or the rain from which the land derives its fertility. The State appropriates the whole of the net produce, or so much of it as can be collected, and from this source undertakes to provide for its ordinary expenditure. This, in theory at least, was what the British found on their first occupation of India, and the main reform which they introduced consisted in the bestowal of ownership either on individuals or on village communities. These zemindars, as they were called, have full control over the whole produce, subject to the payment of rent to the Government, fixed permanently in Bengal, and in later days scutted for a term of years in other provinces. The gross revenue derived from this source is now in round figures about £20,000,000 yearly, and to this extent the general taxpayer is so largely benefited that the incidence per head of imposts is no more than 1s. 9½d. If the rent of land received by the Government be added, the incidence per head would amount to 3s. 4½d., which does not amount to a very heavy payment for the advantage of an administration singularly pure and efficient, and probably not a quarter of what is paid in Japan. But it is evident that but for the land revenue the burden on the general community would be much greater than it is. A distinguished and experienced brother officer who has been consulted, thus sums up the situation:

"I will always say that rent is not a tax. If the rent be taken by the State, it enables the latter to take less from the general taxpayer and so may fairly be called the *reverse* of a tax."

It seems a necessary corollary that no complete self-government could be desirable for India unless these principles should be maintained and strictly observed.—H. G. K.

its produce. This is to realize in an important respect the latest plans of modern socialism, and, if it were abandoned, a burden of more than twenty millions sterling would be thrown upon the shoulders of the Indian taxpayer. In the matter of the home charges, represented by extremists as tribute wrung from India by England, it is perfectly well known to all who have examined the subject that these charges are in reality nothing in the world but payment for services past and present. The system of railways and the network of canals by which millions of acres are saved from the dangers of a capricious rainfall are amongst Britain's most important contributions to India's prosperity; and if the interest on the original outlay is chiefly paid by remittances to London, that is only because English capital was available at a lower rate of interest than would have satisfied the native market. The third point on which just ideas have to be cultivated by the Hindus is in regard to the treatment of minorities; the riots of which we hear from time to time show that this elementary principle of justice is not at present grasped; and the British nation would be false alike in honour and expediency were it to give full power to races who have not yet established a claim to confidence.

One step in the direction of Indian Home Rule is, indeed, possible at the present moment—the position and powers of the local government might receive complete and accurate definition. That Government for the last half century has been vested in a Viceroy and Executive Council or Cabinet of five departmental chiefs, not including the Commander-in-Chief of the Army; but the increasing facilities of communication have so increased the influence of London that since the resignation of the late Earl of Northbrook the Parliamentary Secretary of State and the political party to which he belongs have had absolute power. Some of the Hindu extremists are so able and pertinacious that it is quite possible that they might in time affect these authorities with the delusion that the only cure

for Indian unrest would be to band the reins over to themselves. One could hardly doubt what the result would be. Mahrattas, Afghans and Sikhs would struggle for the mastery; the Bengalis would go to the wall, and the famous permanent settlement, so unduly favourable to Bengal, would completely disappear. The only breakwater against such a flood would be the firmness and wisdom of the local government, and it is obviously essential that the powers of that government in all but Imperial questions should be preserved intact.

Britannia points to the Indian Empire as her greatest triumph, but her pride is chastened by the voice of her swarthy sister, and it may seem to some as though she were about to fall from her car into a sea of troubles. The troubles of the wise, however, are only blessings in disguise; let us hope that under Divine Providence the present bad weather may soon pass and be succeeded by an atmosphere fruitful of good to two nations so widely separated by nature, so strangely brought together by the decree of destiny, and by the verdict of events.

In the meanwhile, the British nation surely deserves credit for conduct in India, not only just but generous, to a degree unexampled in the history of conquered countries. Although the various races occupying that vast dependency may not yet be fully ripe for self-government, it would be well that their political leaders should bear in mind that their alien rulers have, for the greater part of a century, been persistently pursuing a course obviously tending to prepare India for Home Rule and Home Rule for India.

## NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES.

By L. STACPOOLE HAYCRAFT.

We have had plenty of evidence during the past few months that the twentieth-century problem of the Far East is increasing in vitality. Hot on the heels of the ferment in China came renewed unrest in Persia. Movement, denoting change of an immemorial outlook, has been everywhere.

The Western world worked out systems of representative self-government for itself—Constitutional Monarchies, Republics, and so on, growths that germinated in the hereditary instinct of freedom common to Western peoples. These things, with us, struggled through ages of unenlightenment to reach their present development. Such as they are, they are all indigenous to the West. But Western systems when applied to the East must of necessity be transplantations.

There are some cheerful optimists, like Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, to whose servid imaginations Constitutions, and Parliaments, and Republics are something in the nature of Free Trade goods, subject merely to the law of demand and supply for their circulation. If the good Radical "drummer" secures the demand for these commodities in the Far East, the supply will follow as a matter of course.

Such reasoning takes no account of the real significance

of the words " Republic," " Parliament," or " Constitution," when applied to nations like the Chinese or the Persians, to say nothing of a country like India, where there is not one nation but an agglomeration of peoples of different races and creeds.

When through the magic influence of those great hustlers steam and electricity, you at your breakfast-table to-day can read of the doings of yesterday in Teheran and Peking, it is not easy to remember that you are separated from the "unchanging East," that is somehow so mysteriously changing, not by thousands of miles only, but by years of alien culture, and by fundamental differences of race. And this artificial bridging of distance, that confuses our perception, confuses also the Oriental mind at such times as it begins to see visions and dream dreams, and to conjure up more or less artificial reform movements.

Bearing this in mind, the world unrest of the last few years in the Far East becomes more understandable, if not more hopeful in outlook for the near future, for, briefly, the great Eastern reform movements show themselves to be a scramble for imperfectly understood benefits.

We have a general knowledge of Japan's rise to power as a result of her half-century of westernization, and we have a complacent sense of sponsorship in regard to her development. But when we take Japan as an example of the success of transplanting Western systems to the East we begin to make mistakes. We forget two things—firstly, that Japan is not as other Oriental nations; and secondly, that, as a matter of fact, we know very little at all about the inner life of the Japanese.

Looking at it broadly even the most superficial observer can recognize the difference in character between the sturdy little Island nation, and the inhabitants of the various continental nations that go to make up the Far East. The Japanese were a practical people before they took to reforms at all. Inborn in them was a character of the kind that one does not look for elsewhere in the East; and it gifted them

with a sense of patriotism and of discipline, and a devotion to patriotic ideals. They were a far-seeing race, and when they got a clear view of the Western world, and saw what it had done for itself through increased knowledge, they set to work to increase their own knowledge and to enlighten themselves. Japan's sudden rise was not due to the professional reformer from without. No one from outside forced upon her ill-digested reforms such as Mr. Keir Hardie would have forced upon India. Her rise was due to her own following of common sense and exact methods. In the possession of these qualities she stands alone amongst Oriental nations.

But while we are lauding what we call Japan's westernization and its results, we lose sight of the fact that the Japanese are only eclectically westernized, and it is when we come to the problems that lie below the surface of national life we find that we know practically nothing of the real Japan. In all the systems and methods she has copied from the West there is a side that we see, but there is also a reverse side of which we know nothing. She has a Parliament and a Constitution, but Constitutional Government as it exists in Europe is unknown in Japan. Speaking from a large experience of Japan and things Japanese, Mr. T. Milward, a correspondent of the *New York Times*, says :

"From what I know of Japan, inside and out, I am convinced that Western knowledge of darkest Russia is as the noonday sun to the moon compared to general Western understanding of internal forces which sway the policy of Nippon."

Japao, in spite of her westernization, is very far from being the open book to Western reformers that so many of them believe her to be.

When, therefore, we quote Japan as an example of what can be done for the East by substituting Western for Eastern methods of government, we must do so with reservation, though no doubt Japan's example and influence, especially

since the war with Russia, has largely helped to set all the East in the present ferment for change that so delights the Radically-minded Western politician.

A little more than two years ago the Persian pot boiled over with great sizzlings and hubблings. The clamour for a Persian Constitution and Parliament sprang to life and expanded with the suddenness of a Jonah's gourd, and inside of three years she got through as many changes as three hundred years would have brought about in the slow-moving West. She forced the Shah to found a Constitution and to summon a People's Parliament. The Shah, repenting him, dissolved Parliament by bombarding it out of existence, and resumed autocratic sway. Events then moved with the celerity of a kinematograph. Once more the "people" rose, hunted the Shah out of the country, and set Parliament on its legs again, when ensued a series of dissolving views of governments making and unmaking themselves that still goes on.

The Bird of Freedom that hatched out this egg of discord in Teheran was what we in the West should call the "clerical party." The so-called "popular" movement was a stirring amongst the Mullahs, who had felt their power and privilege threatened by the autoeratists. But the whole thing was sufficiently like a struggle for popular liberty to enlist the sympathy of the Western reformer who had not enlightened himself on the subject of Persian political immorality. What form of government will ultimately shape itself from out of the Persian seething pot no man can say. It is enough to know that at the present time no Persian trusts another Persian, which is not a hopeful sign.

"The Persians," says Mr. David Fraser, the *Times* correspondent in Teheran during the year 1909, "will tell you how Japan adopted Western institutions and forthwith was able to hunt the Russians out of her preserves. One would have more faith in Persian aspirations if the Persian had evolved a method of his own more in consonance with the disposition of his fellow-countrymen. For Persia to copy

Western institutions and think to regain thereby her lost position seems over-sanguine."

Mr. Fraser touches the spot in these words. What is needed in the Far East is not the thin veneer of Western forms of government, not a transplantation of Parliaments and Republics from West to East, but an awakening to a sense of the need for real progress from within.

The Chinese revolt had hardly begun last October when the news that China was to be turned into a republic burst upon an astonished world. Even the first President was named, and his portrait published broadcast. For the moment one could not decide whether all this was almost funny, or almost pathetic. There was something sad in this collapse of the pride of centuries before modern Shibboleths, and there were elements of the grotesque in the suggestion of a Chinese "White House" established at Nanking, with Dr. Sun-yat-Sen sitting in the Presidential chair. The whole conception seemed about as possible as would be the suggestion that Sir William Wilcox should irrigate the Valley of Mesopotamia by utilizing the water of the canals in Mars.

One felt that the generations of freedom of thought that lead to the establishment of republics could not be replaced by a few frenzied weeks of rebellion amongst a people whose national life is boneycombed by traditions in which the idea of freedom has never had a place.

And our surprise and our scepticism were right enough at the time, though, as the weeks have gone by since then, we have begun to question more seriously as to whether the surface enlightenment of Southern China may not, indeed, have sent roots downward and inward, much farther than most of us in Europe had suspected—roots carrying life for a growth of thought that is readier for the sprouting than we know. We know that racial antagonism long existed between the comparatively cultured Chinese of the South, and their virile Manchu conquerors of the North. It expressed itself in the great outburst of the Taiping

rebellion, during the early middle of the last century, and when that rebellion was ultimately crushed it still continued a troubling undercurrent, in the form of secret societies, communicating disaffection to the whole community, and reaching, at last, even to the seat of Government in Peking. In Peking the revolutionary movement made a truly remarkable conquest in the person of the young Emperor Kuang-Hsu, who, by his sympathy with new and enlightened thought and progress, gained for himself, amongst the supporters of his dynasty, the title of "Chinese Traitor."

Kuang-Hsu's reforming zeal was, of course, heterodoxy to his traditions, and it is interesting to remember that the man who betrayed him by playing into the hands of that woman of mystery, the great Dowager Empress, Tsu-Hsi, was Yuan-Shi-Kai. Between them these two managed effectually to dispose of the "Chinese Traitor," by making him a prisoner in the Palace of the Ocean Terrace, and the outward evidences of Reform were squashed.

All this was twenty odd years ago or so, but during the last three months many things have shown us that the stream of reform, though dammed up at so many of its sources, has, nevertheless, forced itself through hidden ways. How far it has gone we have yet to learn, but there are recent evidences that its effects are wider reaching than they were believed to be when the revolutionaries took up arms last October. Perhaps no evidence as to the vitality of the Chinese reform movement is more significant than the attitude of the master mind of the Opposition. Yuan-Shi-Kai has balanced himself carefully on the fence during the last few years. He has watched Dr. Sun-yat-Sen's growing popularity more closely than we in Europe have done, and it is a fact, though it is not generally known, that some two years ago he made overtures on his own account to Sun-yat-Sen, with the object of anticipating changes, and presumably with the conviction that, by jumping in time with the cat, he himself would have a better chance of coming out on top.

The Chinese mind is naturally very much of a sealed book to us. Between their methods and ours, between their ways of thinking, their ambitions, their morality and ours, there is fixed the great gulf of alien race. Whatever, therefore, may be the end of the present agitations, we may be certain that, if a permanent and healthy Government is to arise on new lines, they must be Chinese lines. It would be a very unhealthy movement that endeavoured to create an imitation Republic.

"The old order changeth," no doubt, but, in the East, as elsewhere, the changes must be slow and work from within outwards, not from without inwards; and self-government, under any of its manifestations, must follow national development, not precede it.

"EDUCATION AND STATESMANSHIP IN  
INDIA, 1797-1910."

By H. R. JAMES, M.A., OXFORD,  
Indian Educational Department; Principal of Presidency College, Calcutta.

In the opinion of a schoolmaster who has had a good deal to do with all grades of schools, from the primary to the University, this is an excellent book.

It gives a brief review of the educational undertakings of the Indian Government from their beginning, more than a hundred years ago. They have proved, we are told, often abortive, and sometimes even mischievous. There must be something wrong at the root of a plant which, with all this digging about and watering, has refused to thrive. It may be, however, that more has been achieved than as yet appears ; for the teacher, of all workers, must cast his bread upon the waters, and be content to find it after many days.

If in any degree the desire for education has grown in consequence of what has been done, this is much. It will not fail to make the work easier for those who have to go on with it. Moreover, the failures of the past have put those engaged in the work upon revised methods, and, indeed, Mr. James's account of what is now in hand in the way of making good these failures, and his own clear conceptions and confident outlook—high placed as he is among the workers—give good promise of success in no distant future.

What a Government ought to do for the education of a people is a question not yet satisfactorily answered. Children in England have been compelled to go to school and learn what has been prescribed for them for now almost half a century. The passing generation and that which is already taking its place read more and know more in consequence, and are certainly less given to crimes of violence, and probably are less vicious, less grossly vicious certainly, than any generation which has preceded them. But much, it cannot be doubted, of this improvement would have come about from other causes, even if Government had withheld its hand.

The march of civilization, railways, telegraphs, the penny post, cheap newspapers, the extent to which machinery has lifted the burden of toil off the shoulders of labour, better wages, and cheaper necessaries and amenities of life have stimulated the desire and, at the same time, furnished the means of coming by more book-learning—a desire, many think, rather lessened than increased by the compulsory and gratuitous nature of the satisfaction given.

There have been great nations in the past in which education as we know it—perhaps it ought rather to be called book-learning—was taken no account of by the State. But no nation has achieved greatness in which there was not a regulative religious faith and its implied sanctions of morality, whereas the cultivation of intellect for its own sake seems inimical to creeds. With religion in India, where there are so many forms of it, the Government cannot meddle, nor look for any direct help from this source. So all teaching provided by the State has to be of the secular order. It was at one time proposed, Mr. James tells us, that a textbook of moral science, which, as having its foundation in experience, is in no way dependent on creeds, should be taught in the schools. This, however, it has been decided is not to be done, and he thinks with good reason, holding, it would seem, the doctrine that virtues cannot be imparted by precept,

but are to be acquired only by practice. That he takes this view is to be deplored; for his book, so full of sound and well-reasoned opinion, cannot but have weight with the Educational Authority in India.

A good textbook of morality, taught intelligently and not got by rote as most of us learnt our Catechism, could not do other than implant in the minds of children—soil not yet preoccupied with rooted weeds of error and vice—ideas and rules of conduct, constituting a sort of map of the way they should go; and inasmuch as without some conception or plan of what is to be done we can enter upon no action whatever, children, whenever they find themselves at a loss for guidance, at the cross-roads of life cannot but fall back upon what entered their minds unchallenged and has had time enough to establish itself there without question. At any rate, they stand a better chance of being determined by what prepossesses their minds to a right act, and this act, repeating itself, tends to form a habit, and the habit to make character.

The example of a high-minded teacher, as of course Mr. James sees, would enforce the formal lessons of this textbook.

Indeed, it is one of the main contentions of his book, which seems rarely at fault for insight, that, if only the right sort of teacher can be got, his best lesson will be the unconscious teaching of his own character and example; but this is no reason why he should not have here also the help of a textbook, as in all else he teaches. To induce teachers of this order to offer themselves—and this is a cardinal matter—Mr. James asks for more pay, and a higher social prestige, which will follow of itself upon better pay. A public schoolmaster of much experience was once asked to give a lecture on the art of teaching. He consented to do so if he were allowed to say only what was necessary to comprise the whole matter, and this was his lecture: "Be what you would have your pupils be, and be it sincerely; know what you would have them know, and know it well;

and throw yourself with enthusiasm into the work." Plato thought that it was unnecessary to prescribe the details of legislation for the Guardians of his Ideal State; for, if only they were properly chosen, they would in the light of occasion, provide these particulars better themselves, and this the competent, high-minded teachers will do for their schools as no outside authority can do. Teachers of this sort are of course difficult to get anywhere, and not least in India, for whatever grades of schools, and the Home Country cannot provide any considerable number, certainly not for the higher teaching, for the drain to India of men of this order is so great that the Church, the Bar, the Secondary Schools and the higher professions generally are already in danger of being officered by inferior men, or at least by men of lower academical discipline. The home service has called up no fewer than 4,700 men to fill official posts, during the last five years, and more and ever more will be needed at home as the functions of Government extend.

What the Indian Educational Office is to do to get the men they need, Mr. James may well be at a loss to tell us. There is no help for it, but India must, in the main, provide its own teachers, and till it can so do, must pay higher stipends if these men are to come.

India should, however, be able soon to help herself. The standards, we are told, both of character and of attainment of the Indian student, are rising apace, and the schools are pressing upward.

This may well be, for there are many influences at work in every part of the world to quicken the desire for knowledge and culture, and nowhere, it would seem, has there been, or is there, an administration more beset on satisfying this desire, or now better advised, than in India, and the task must grow rapidly easier, as the leaven of what is already achieved goes on working.

In 1881 we learn there were 149,000, and in 1906 as many as 473,000 pupils in secondary schools all learning

English, an increase of 324,000, or more than three times as many as twenty-one years before.

This rate of increase, and *vires acquirit eundo*, should satisfy all but the impatient ; and impatience seems to be the fault of the Educational Office, however much it may lean to virtue's side. For there should be some regard to the demand for such education as the Government proposes to give, nor should anything in the way of school learning be forced upon those who have as yet no use for it.

In some parts of India there are people who speak a language which is not written, and so can have no literature, where English, if taught, would be lost again at once, and everywhere, where there is no use for it, and it is not in demand, instruction of every sort must prove equally futile.

The Indians generally, because, we may suppose, of the obligation incurred by the custom of early marriage, and the consequent burden of a family before the means of support are secured, cannot look upon the English language as a key to its literature, or as more than a help to a better livelihood.

Very few read English, or, indeed, any books ; yet many of them, if room were made for them as teachers, with adequate pay and prospect of promotion, would from the first aim higher as students.

Till therefore a field is open to them and some profitable use for their learning—for this is alone in their thoughts—all efforts of the Government to hasten the process of educating the people, are not unlikely to do more harm than good.

The condition of the English people has certainly improved since 1870, when education was made compulsory, but there are not wanting grounds for the opinion that this progress is due, in large part at least, to other causes which are working also, though in lesser degree doubtless, in India.

Education was advancing rapidly and more naturally, and, as it were, on its own roots, before Government inter-

ferred. It is now in some form universal, not without confusion in the minds of those upon whom it has been forced between higher and lower attainments, so that respect for learning has loosened, the standards of literature have fallen, and only the applied sciences are making way in schools, and that at the expense of letters, which alone, or mainly, impart culture and build character.

It may be, as is said by some, that the mediocrity everywhere prevalent in things of the æsthetic order, is due to the ascendancy of utilitarian instruction, and the growing demand for such teaching as keeps breadwinning in view.

Bacoo says, and they are ominous words enough : " In the infancy of a State Arms flourish; in the adult stage Arms and Letters thrive ; in the decline, Commerce and the Mechanical Arts."

Mr. James asks for more State subvention in India. With the same breath he calls upon the State to correct not a few of its own mistakes. It might be argued with a good show of reason that the meddling of the State has been throughout a mistake, fruitful as it has been in necessities of further meddling to rectify evils of its own creating.

The Government, he shows, had once the happy inspiration of standing more aloof, and limiting its action for the most part to removing hindrances out of the way of private schools, but it became impatient and made trouble again for itself, as impatience will do, by checking a native growth which was all the surer for being slow.

Perhaps the worst mistake was to give, and give so much, before it was wanted. Now, in consequence, what do we see but a long *queue* of weary applicants who wait only to find the door closed to them, and that there is nothing to turn to. These men, whom the Government expected to find good citizens and loyal servants of the State, cannot fail to be a source of trouble ; they are seditious and the cause of sedition in others, and are the opprobrium of the system which bred them. Meanwhile the independent agencies which were being drawn into the work, and such

wealthy and patriotic persons and local bodies as might have seen occasion for furthering and endowing education, have turned their thoughts elsewhere, and have left everything to the Government — Government which, officered everywhere by pragmatical though usually well-meaning persons, while it ought to be striving to minimize interference, is taking more and more upon itself, undermining self-help and initiative everywhere and all along, and mismanaging affairs which they had better leave the people to manage or to mismanage for themselves.

## NIZAMI'S "KHUSRAU AND SHIRIN."

By H. BEVERIDGE.

IN spite of his obscurity and his fondness for harsh and unusual expressions, and of his occasional tediousness, Nizāmī is, I think, the Persian poet who appeals most to a Western reader. He is as philosophical, and as pointed in his epigrams as the over-praised Omar Khayyām, and he has in addition great powers of invention. His "Khusrav and Shirin" is a metrical romance, which is as interesting as a tale in Herodotus or the Arabian Nights, and his Shirin is as charming as Nausicaa. Omar Khayyām has but snatches of verse, and these are chiefly remarkable because of their being the compositions of an acute man of science. They are his distractions from weightier matters, and so they affect us like the hymns of theologians, such as Luther and Bishop Ken. We may apply to Omar Khayyām what Palgrave has said of a short poem by Lord Bacon: "A fine example of a peculiar class of poetry—that written by thoughtful men who practised this art but little. Wotton's "Character of a Happy Life" is another. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Berkeley, Dr. Johnson, Lord Macaulay, have left similar specimens."

Nizāmī, says Dr. Rieu in his admirable "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts," is universally acknowledged as the greatest of *Masnavī* writers; and another authority, Dr. Sprenger, remarks that Nizāmī "possessed consider-

able learning, and a strong, sound sense; his poetical talents were of the highest order, and had they not been perverted by the bad taste of the times in which he lived, and of the nation to which he belonged, he would have been one of the greatest poets that ever lived."

Nizāmī has also been praised by Hammer-Purgstall, and by Sir William Jones, who translated the stories in Nizāmī's first work, the "Makhzanu l-Asrār," or "Magazine of Mysteries." Professor Browne has described him in his "Literary History of Persia" as one of the four great poets of that country, and has given metrical translations of several passages of his poems.

Nizāmī's ancestors were residents of the holy city of Qūm S.S.W. Tehran, but he himself, if not actually born in Ganja, lived there from his childhood, and died and is buried there. At present Ganja is in Russian territory, and has lost its name, for it is now called Elizavetpol, a designation derived from its having been captured on January 3, 1804, the anniversary of the Empress Elizabeth's birthday. Ganja lies between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and E.S.E. Tiflis. Nizāmī was born about 1141, and he died in 1202 or 1203. Not much is known about his life. He represents himself as being of a retiring disposition, and unacquainted with the arts of a courtier, and he became religious and ascetic in his later years. But it is difficult not to believe that, until he was soured by disappointments, he was fond of society and not averse to pleasure. No Persian poet, perhaps, has treated more fully of the subject of Love, even to the extent of occasional grossness, and none, perhaps, has said more in favour of wine, though in the "Sikandarnāma" he professes never to have drunk any. If he really was all his life an ascetic, he was a hypocrite of the class which affects vices that are not its own. It is not likely that two of his royal patrons would have asked him to sing of Love, if he were really a morose ascetic. In a canto of the Khusrau and Shirin descriptive of the grandeur of Khusrau's court, the poet

tells us that his father's advice to himself was to fly like an arrow from the unsuccessful, and to take up his home in the street of the prosperous. And Nizāmī seems to have followed this advice. Ganja is said to have been a pious and orthodox place, but Nizāmī can hardly have been a good Muhammadan, for he has sung chiefly of unbelievers. A reputation for sanctity seems occasionally to have been rather easily acquired in the East. Bābur is often represented as an orthodox Muhammadan, and d'Herbelot—who must have got his information from some Oriental manuscript—tells us that Omar Khayyām lived in the odour of sanctity prescribed by his religion! (See his article "Khiam.") Dr. Bacher thinks that Nizāmī married twice or even thrice. He certainly had one son, whom he speaks of in the "Laili and Majnūn" as being fourteen years old. In the "Khusrau" he addresses him as being seven years old. (See the advice to his son near the end of the poem, p. 132 of Lahore lithograph.) Just before this he has a reference to a lady who was apparently the mother of his child. He speaks of her as of being of Turkish origin, and says she was sent to him by the ruler of Darbaud. He praises her beauty and goodness, and says he and she suited one another like honey and milk. There is also an obscure allusion to her death by violence, but the passage seems mutilated in the lithographed editions, and I do not feel sure of the meaning. Dr. Bacher refers to a passage in the second part of the "Sikandarnāma" which alludes to the death of a wife, and may relate to the same event as that noticed in the Khusrau. An eulogy of monogamy which the poet puts into the mouth of Aristotle (Bacher, p. 75) seems to indicate that he did not approve of polygamy, and it is probable that the poet had been struck by the good effect of monogamy in the neighbouring country of Armenia. Certainly both Shirin and her aunt are emphatic about the necessity for a regular marriage.

In his conversation with an imaginary person named

Daulat—who seems to represent the king's bounty—Nizāmī describes himself as having turned away from the world, and says that all his provision is a handful of barley. Then, with an allusion to the meaning of the word Ganj, that is, "treasure" (he is called Ganjavi, from the name of his city), he says he is like the snake who sits in guard over treasure, and adds that he has nothing but one roll of bread from night to night. Like a bee, he has but a little cell, though it is filled with all kinds of sweets. He recurs to this again in a canto which describes Khusrau's getting news of his father's death. There the poet exhorts himself to live like Jesus Christ, to doff the world, and to support himself on barley bread. The pious friend, also, who objects to his occupying himself with tales about fire-worshippers, censures him for living such an obscure life, and two stages off from the city. But, in spite of his love for independence, and his ascetic mode of life, Nizāmī could not, any more than other poets of old times, do without a royal patron, and, of course, be bad to repay him by panegyrics. Daulat Shah has a notice of him in his "Biographies of Poets" (p. 128 of Professor Browne's edition), but it is not very accurate or informing. The most trustworthy accounts of him are those given by Nizāmī himself in various passages of his poems. Most of them have been collected by Dr. William Bacher, who published, at Leipsic, in 1871, a valuable essay on Nizāmī. This was translated by Mr. Samuel Robinson (London, 1873). The poet's "Laili and Majnūn" was translated, or, perhaps, rather, we should say, abridged and paraphrased by James Atkinson, of the Indian Medical Service, in 1835. Atkinson was an accomplished artist, and was an elegant versifier, and his translation can be read with much pleasure. I am glad to say that, though his name does not occur in the "National Dictionary of Biography," there is a short but sufficient notice of him in Buckland's "Dictionary of Indian Biography."

Atkinson's translation has been republished in the "Love Stories of the East" Series, by Mr. Cranmer Byng; but be,

to use a phrase of Dr. Johnson's, has injuriously omitted the translator's preface and notes. His own introduction is unnecessarily depreciatory of Atkinson's work, and his remark about the Muhammedan law of marriage is incorrect. When Nizāmī states that an Arabian widow must wait two years before she marries again, he must be referring to some pre-Islamic custom, and, indeed, there seems no reason for supposing that Laili and Majnūn were Muhammedans. Muhammed's law of 'Iddat—that is, of the time that a widow must remain unmarried—is given in the Qurān, and is only four months and ten days.

There is an excellent notice of Nizāmī by Dr. Ethé in the last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

Nizāmī's father's name was Joseph, and his grandfather's was Muyyād. Dr. Bacher understands a line in the prologue to the "Laili and Majnūn" to mean that Nizāmī's father was short-lived. But does it not rather mean that he was of excellent (*jawid*) disposition, or, perhaps, that he was orthodox, like his father, Zaki-Muyyād? In a canto of the Khusrau and Shīrin, descriptive of Khusrau's court, Nizāmī speaks of his father giving him some worldly counsels, and he calls this "an old man's advice." The name of the poet's mother is not known, but he describes her as having belonged to a good Kurdish family. It is intimated that she had to endure much suffering. Nizāmī's full name was Nizāmī-d-din Ilyās (Elias), and after the birth of his son he had the additional title of Abū Muhammed. As Drs. Bacher and Rieu have pointed out, we know that the Nizāmī had the name Elias from a passage in the prologue to the "Laili and Majnūn." Maulaoa Aghā Ali Ahmad\* states in his "Haft Asmān," p. 25, that Daulat Shāh styles him Ilyas, but this is probably a mistake, for the statement does not occur in Professor Browne's edition, nor in two British Museum manuscripts which I have consulted. Apparently the Maulvie should have said Latf Āli, instead of Daulat Shāh,

\* On referring again to the "Haft Asmān," I find that the mistake is mine, and that the Maulvie is quoting Latf Āli, and not Daulat Shāh.

for in the extract from the former's *Ātishkada*, given by Bland in his edition of the "Magazine of Mysteries," we find Ilyās given as part of Nizāmi's name. In the same extract a couplet is given from the "*Iqbālnāma*" (the *Sikandarnāma*) in which Nizāmi states that his family came from Qūm.

In the passage of the *Lailī* and *Majnūn* Nizāmi tells us that his name yields, according to alphabetical computation, 1001, and that Ilyās gives 99, so that he possesses 1,001 fortresses and 99 weapons (against his critics). On this Dr. Bacher remarks that, even if we deduct, as Nizāmi directs, the *alif* of *lām* from Ilyās, the result is 101, and not 99—namely,  $30 + 10 + 1 + 60$ . But the difficulty may be caused by an imperfect manuscript, for in one in the India Office the word is not *lām* but *nām*. It has also occurred to me that possibly Nizāmi's name was Alyas, a lion, or courage, and not Ilyās, the prophet. In that case there would be only one *alif* in the name, and the remaining three letters, *l*, *z*, and *s*, would, on subtracting the *a*, yield 99. In an early canto of the *Khusrau* and *Shirin*, the poet, in his reply to the pious friend who objected to his taking a story about fire-worshippers as his subject, says that the heavens cast his horoscope as that of a lion (*sher*, and not *sabz*, as in Bacher), but that this was of no value, as he was only a woolly lion—that is, a puppet lion. Can this be an allusion to his having received the name of Alyas at his birth? One manuscript, at least, in the British Museum, has *nām* instead of *lām*. The Tibrān lithograph has *lām*, but this is preceded by the conjunctive *wā* instead of by *z*. This does not seem to be an improvement. On the whole, it seems impossible to accept Nizāmi's statement about the word's yielding 99, unless we conclude that there was only one *alif* in his Ilyās or Alyas.

The *Khusrau* and *Shirin* is probably the finest of Nizāmi's quintet of metrical romances, and certainly it is the most interesting of them all. The subject was one which specially appealed to the poet, for it was the tale of the beloved of one of his ancient kings (the Chosroes II.

of the Byzantines), an Armenian princess, whose name of Shirin ("The Sweet") is supposed to be a corruption of the Greek word Irene. Much of the scene lay near Nizāmi's home, for Barda', where Shirin lived, was in the Armenian hill-country, and not far from Ganja, which was on the borders of what was then north-western Persia. Thus, Nizāmi was familiar with her touching story from his childhood, and he tells us that he drew his materials from ancient local histories, and from old inhabitants.

In some manuscripts the poem is called Shirin and Khusrau, and this would be a more appropriate title, for the work is more occupied with Shirin than with Khusrau, and it is her character which gives the poem its charm. It would be in accordance with the title of Nizāmi's next epic, Laili and Majnūn, if the heroine's name were put first. Nizāmi himself regarded Shirin as his principal subject, for he says in allusion to the meaning of her name ("The Sweet," and nearly synonymous with the Saccharissa of Waller) that there is no sweeter story than that of Shirin. He also calls the poem Shirin u Khusrau in the fourteenth canto of Part I. of the "Sikandarnāma." Perhaps it was only on account of the alphabet that Khusrau's name has been put first.

Mr. Gibb has stated in his "History of Ottoman Poetry" that Nizāmi drew most of his materials from the historian Tabari, but in the Persian translation of that work, at all events, there is very little about Shirin, and what little there is has not been used by Nizāmi. It is more probable that he has borrowed somewhat from Firdūsi, though his treatment of Shirin is quite different from Firdūsi's. As Nizāmi remarks, with a possible reference to the flatness of Firdūsi's "Joseph and Zulaikha," Firdūsi was too old to write a love-poem. Firdūsi represents Shirin in an unamiable light, whereas Nizāmi's Shirin is a beautiful creation, and the details must have been either derived from local histories, or from verbal tradition, or the Nizāmi's own invention. He describes her as a beautiful and charming girl, who is simple enough and foolish enough to fall in love

with a prince from seeing his portrait. Her religion is not specified, and in the canto descriptive of her distress and her prayer to God, there is no mention of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary. But neither is there any reference to Muhammad, and from her birth and upbringing she must be supposed to have been a Christian.\* Her own and her aunt's insistence on monogamy and a regular marriage also points to this. Khusrau, the grandson of Nushirwan the Just, is a magnificent prince, possessed of every external merit and accomplishment, and is the owner of immense treasures ; but in reality, or, at least, as described by Nizami, he was a poor creature, and one of Kingsley's "male hogs in armour." He was quite unworthy of Shirin, and one feels sorry that she did not prefer Farhad the sculptor, who was her devoted and hapless lover. Perhaps she did, and the poet may mean us to understand, that though she married Khusrau, her heart always was with Farhad. Such is the view taken by a subsequent poet—'Ali Sher—who according to d'Herbelot, regards it as one of the two great calamities of Khusrau's life that the beautiful Shirin should have loved Farhad more than she did him. In justice to Khusrau, it may be said that he suffers from the poet's having chiefly treated of him in his domestic capacity, and has said little or nothing of him as a soldier. Even Julius Caesar would suffer if so dealt with. Khusrau was a splendid figure, a patron of music, and a great, though eventually an unsuccessful, warrior. Nizami, however, has said nothing about his wars with the Greeks, and has only mentioned in two short cantos his defeat by, and final victory over, his rebellious subject Bahrām Chobin.

The poem, which contains 7,000 couplets, describes the trials which Shirin's love for Khusrau inflicted on her. Her constancy, or her infatuation, is rewarded at last, for she marries Khusrau ; but her days of happiness were

\* She must either have been a Christian or a fire-worshipper, for she grew up before the teaching of Muhammad. Of course, in the conclusion of the story, Nizami makes her an admirer of Muhammad.

few, and even these were not unclouded, for she felt that Khusrau was growing remiss in the discharge of his duty as a ruler. After six months, her husband is murdered in his sleep by an assassin employed by his unnatural son Shiroya—the offspring of Miriam, the daughter of the Greek Emperor—and Shirin stabs herself on Khusrau's dead body.

Almost the only time when Khusrau appears in a really amiable light is when he is mortally wounded. He is lying by Shirin's side, and is suffering agonies of thirst, yet refrains from disturbing her sleep—she had had some bad nights—by asking for water.

Nizāmī tells us that he began the poem at the beginning of the reign of Tughril Shah (No. II.), the son of Arslān. Apparently, then, it was begun on A.H. 573, or 1177-78. It was finished, as stated near the end of the poem, on A.H. 576, or 1180-81.

Daulat Shāh states that Nizāmī wrote Khusrau and Shirin at the request of Qizil Arslān, the relative and coadjutor of Tughril. Dr. Bacher rejects the statement, but it seems to me that it is substantially correct. It does not appear that Qizil Arslān or Tughril suggested to Nizāmī the precise subject of his poem; this must have been long familiar to him. But it certainly does appear from his prologue\* that some king, either Tughril or Qizil Arslān, requested him to write a love-story. The Daulat mentioned in an early canto may be an imaginary person, but, as his name implies, he represents an earthly

\* In the same canto reference is made to two rulers named Qarā Khan and Tughān Shāh. I am not sure who Qarā Khan is, but Tughān Shāh seems to be the unfortunate ruler of Nishāpūr, who was a poet, and was blinded by an enemy. He is described by Daulat Shāh, Browne's edition, p. 73. He was a nephew of Tughril Beg, and was a Seljuk. In the concluding canto, which describes Nizāmī's interview with Qizil Arslān, the latter asks him if his brother and predecessor, Muhammad Atabeg Jahān Pahlwān, had given him any reward for his long labour on the poem of "Khusrau," and the poet answers that the Atabeg had intended to give him a village, but had been prevented by death. This seems to imply that the poem had been commissioned.

potentate, and is not the same as a Hātif, or representative of the poet's genius. The canto begins by a reference to a royal cortége (*mankub daulat*), and Daulat, when he enters the poet's chamber, announces that the Shahinshāh commands Nizāmi to write a tale of love. All the mystical poets are dead, he says, and Nizāmi must undertake the task. Here the word "Shāhinshāh" must represent an earthly king, and indeed is applied to Tughril in the next canto. Nizāmi demurs to the suggestion on the ground of his poverty and retirement from the world, and intimates that, if he is to write such a poem, he must be liberally patronised. He says his predecessors were luckier than himself, and enjoyed royal favours. Jewels cannot be bored or strung without the help of a diamond, nor subjects higher than the Pleiades be treated of without ample equipment. Such a remark seems to indicate that the subject proposed was not an ordinary love-tale, but was to deal with a royal house. And we know that when the subject of Laili and Majnūn was suggested to Nizāmi, he objected on the ground that it was not good enough.

Unfortunately for himself and his readers, Nizāmi is a difficult author. In obscurity and ruggedness of expression he resembles Browning, whom he also reminds us of by his vigour and poetic power and the extent of his learning. The result is that, though Nizāmi has always been recognized as one of the great poets of Persia, he has been comparatively little read. Even Mr. Gibb, the able historian of Ottoman poetry, can hardly have read the whole of Khusrau and Shirin, for in his analysis of Sheykf's Turkish translation of it he makes a strange mistake about the contents of the original. At vol. i., p. 309, he tells us that Sheykf introduced lyrics into the body of the *masnavi*, and adds, "that Sheykf did not derive this idea from Nizāmi is certain, for there are no such lyric interludes in the work of the great poet of Ganj." Now, what is certain is that Nizāmi's poem contains odes or lyrics, which in some manuscripts are called *ghazals*, and in others *sarīds*. When Shirin comes to Khūsrau's court, four are sung, two by the

minstrel Nagisa, and two by Khusrau's representative, Barbûd. There are also, earlier in the poem, a number of *jeux d'esprit*, or *asâkâna*, which are recited by Khusrau and Shirin, and by ten of her maidens—viz., Farangîs, Suhail, Humâyûn, and others. I cannot infer that Sheyki's lyrics are exact translations of Nizâmi's, for his version is admittedly a free one, and he takes liberties with his original. For example, he makes Nagisa, Shirin's minstrel, to be a woman, and he also changes the sex of the false messenger, who came to Farhâd and told him Shirin was dead, thereby causing him to die. Besides the odes in the Khusrau and Shirin there are lyrics in the Lailî and Majnûn, and in the Sikândarnâma, Part I., and Maulânâ Aghâ Ahmad tells us in his notice of Nizâmi, in the "Hast Asmân," p. 42, that drinking-songs (*sâginâma*) and musicians' songs (*maghnî-nâma*) are among Nizâmi's inventions. One of these drinking-songs occurs in the canto describing the entertainment given to Khusrau by Mahîn Bâna.

Nizâmi's obscurity and his recondite learning are responsible, to some extent, for the mistakes and variants in the manuscripts and in the Indian printed editions. It were much to be wished that a correct edition of the Khusrau and Shirin could be published, and also that some one would do for it what Atkinson has done for Lailî and Majnûn. Probably a translation would require many omissions, and it should be preceded by an abstract in prose of the prologue. It is a defect in Atkinson's work that nearly the whole prologue is omitted.

#### The best edition\* of the text of the "Khusrau and Shirin"

\* The oldest manuscript of Nizâmi's five poems seems to be that in the Bodleian, dated A.H. 761, or 1365. It formerly belonged to Sir William Ouseley.

The late Dr. Leitner possessed a valuable manuscript of the Quintets of Nizâmi and Amir Khusrau, which are thus described in his catalogue: "The unrivalled collection of the *Khamsa Nizâmi* and the *Khamsa Amir Khosro*, written in the beginning of the fifteenth century by order of Mirza Yâdgâr, grandson of Tamerlane, in miniature, but very legible, gold letters, and profusely interspersed with gorgeously illuminated headings and pictures. It was presented to Dost Mohammed by the Shah of Persia. A unique specimen."

is probably the Lahore lithograph, for it contains many valuable notes. Unfortunately, the type, especially of the notes, is very small, and there are so many interlineations that the book is difficult to read. There is also a Tehran edition. In the British Museum there is a very useful prosaic abstract of the poem by a Munshi (see Rieu, Cat., II., p. 575 b).

Nizāmi is very long in getting under way. Khusrau and Shirin begins with several addresses to God, and these are followed by one to Muhammad, in which Jesus Christ is spoken of as the Prophet's *chāls*, or herald. Then comes a statement of how the poem came to be written, and, after it, there are addresses to Tughril Shāh, Shamsud-dīn Muhammad Atabeg, and Qizil Arslān. Then we have a visit from the mysterious being, or rather voice, known as Hātif, and who represents the poet's genius or inspiration. The Hātif urges Nizāmi to begin a poem, and gives him good advice against prolixity. Nizāmi decides upon undertaking the story of Khusrau and Shirin, gives a short analysis of it, and refers to Firdūsī as having been too old at sixty to do justice to a love-story. In this canto occurs the famous description of the ages of life. There is an interesting story told in the "Maasir 'Alamgiri" of how Aurangzeb, when ill and old, repeated the lines of this description while lying in bed. A couplet from it also appears in Bābur's Turki Memoirs, but is probably an interpolation.

Then come some stanzas in praise of love. These are followed by an account of how a pious friend visited him at night and denounced him for trying to give life to dead bones, and to his taking as his theme the acts and times of fire-worshippers instead of occupying himself with the praise of the Unity (*tauhid*). Nizāmi replied by reading some extracts, and, according to his own account, this had such an effect on the objector that he entirely withdrew what he had said, and overflowed with admiration. It is evident, however, that Nizāmi was not at ease about his choice of a

heathen subject. In an early canto—that beginning with the word *khabardārī*—he says that he had been troubled a hundred times with the thought of his bondage in an idol temple of fire-worshippers. But he had been comforted by a gracious message from Heaven to the effect that the said idols (that is, the sun, moon, and stars) did not worship themselves; they went on revolving like pairs of compasses, and were submissive to their Creator. There was therefore no reason why he should not have a devout spirit though officiating in an idol temple.\*

The prologue is, as I have intimated, too long, and the panegyrics on Nizāmi's royal patrons may be passed over. I shall, however, translate a few lines of the opening address to the Deity on account of their high tone and of their eloquence :

"Lord, open Thou the gate of Help,  
Show Nizāmi the way of Truth,  
Grant him a heart in accord with certitude,  
A tongue that he may sing Thy praise.  
Let not evil prevail over my heart,  
Withhold my hand from evil,  
Illuminate my inner man with Thy light,  
Teach my tongue the knowledge of Thee,  
Refresh my soul with Love.  
Grant the bride (his poem) whom I cherish as my soul  
A joyful countenance before the world,  
So that all who behold her may rejoice.  
Make her for wafting of musk like the city of Khullakht ;  
Make the surface of her eye full of light,  
Inspire my brain with rapture ;  
May my book be called Hearts' Delight,  
May it be known as the key to difficulties ;

\* "Like Abraham, have love-passages with an idol (*bābī*, which has the double meaning of an idol and of a beautiful woman), but cleanse the temple of the heart from idols." The mention of Abraham evidently refers to the legend that Radha, the daughter of Nimrod, fell in love with Abraham while he was sitting unharmed in the fiery furnace, and eventually married him. See Well's "Biblical Legends of the Muhammadans," Frankfort, 1845, p. 76.

† A city of Turkistan, famous for musk and for the beauty of its inhabitants.

Give elevation to its sentiments,  
 Twine it into a garden of felicity.  
 Make Shirin beautiful in the eyes of the king,  
 Even as her name is of good omen ;  
 May a breath of Thy favour befriend her,  
 A drop from Thy bounty fall upon her ;  
 Unfold the tulips of the garden of the soul,  
 Bring the bride of poesy to the nuptial couch."

At last we come to the beginning of the story. We are told that Khusrau was the son of Hormuz, the King of Persia, and grandson of the great Nushirwān. His father gave him the name of Khusrau Parvez, which means, perhaps, "the Victorious Sun," though Parvez is also said to mean "a fish," and to have reference to the prince's fondness for fishing. Khusrau grew up in strength and beauty, and at fourteen was placed under the tutelage of Buzurg Umed. The boy, however, had the misfortune to contravene some strict regulations of his father. It seems that Hormuz had issued orders about public discipline, and that Khusrau violated four of them in the course of a day and a night ! First, his horse damaged a peasant's grass ; second, his servant stole a bunch of grapes from a vineyard ; third, the prince intruded on the privacy of a home ; and fourth, he consorted with improper persons, and had a singing and drinking party. Punishment in the form of retaliation was inflicted for these offences upon the servant and on the horse, but the prince was pardoned on account of his repentance and of his youth. In the following night his grandfather Nushirwān appears to him in a dream, and tells him that in place of the four things which he had lost by his offences, he shall receive four others of vastly greater value. For the unripe grapes which his servant had plucked, Khusrau would obtain the beautiful Shirin ("The Sweet"); for the horse which had been hamstrung, he would get Shahdīz, the fleetest horse in the world ; for the furniture which he had put into the peasant's house, and which had, by Hormuz's orders, been confiscated, he would get a wonderful throne (Taqdis) ; for the musicians who

had been punished, the prince would get Bārbud, the unrivalled singer.

Shāpūr, a companion of the prince, now comes upon the scene, and tells him that the most delightful country he has seen in his travels is that part of Armenia which is ruled over by a queen named Shumīrā or Sumīrā, but who is commonly known as Mahīn Bānū, "The Great Lady." He calls her country Arrān, and also Kohistūn—that is, "Hill-land." She is unmarried, and is superior in energy and ability to men. She has four capitals, corresponding to the four seasons. In spring, or the season of flowers, she lives at Moqān; in summer she stays in the Armenian Highlands; in autumn she comes to Abkhāz, and hunts; winter she spends at Barda'\* (the Bardaa of d'Herbelot), for it is a warm country. Her possessions are immense,

\* Barda' is no doubt the Vardzia of Mr. Lynch's book on Armenia. He describes it at vol. i., p. 80, as "a troglodyte city of a remote antiquity, which the Georgians and Armenians believe to have been founded in the twelfth century by the father of Queen Thamar, and to have been completed by that princess. They say it was a favourite residence of Thamar. You are shown the cave in which she resided during winter, the terrace where she spent the summer days, the chapel where her brilliant court assembled, even, it is affirmed, the tomb where her remains were placed. . . . Vardzia is, in fact, the city of Thamar, just as every castle in Georgia is the castle of Thamar, and every antiquity a relic of the great queen."

Mr. Lynch calls it a troglodyte city on account of the numerous caves cut in the rocks. Of these he gives a photograph. Elsewhere he tells us that Queen Thamar belonged to the Bagratid dynasty, which was of Jewish origin, and had its capital at Tiflis. All this is very interesting, for it shows us, I think, that Nizāmi took the idea and the proper name of Sumīrā from a great queen who was his contemporary, though he put her date back by more than five centuries. It cannot be doubted, I think, that Sumīrā, or Shumīrā, is a corruption of Thamar or Tamar—i.e., the palm, and that the initial *S* is the Arabic or three-dotted *sī*, which is pronounced in Arabic like *sh*.

Vardzia is marked on Mr. Lynch's map. It is W.-S.W. Khertvis, and a long way to the west of Tiflis. According to one etymology, it means the "fort of roses." Barda' is described in the new "Encyclopædia of Islam," p. 656, under the name of Bardha'a, and is described as a village in a ruined state on the Tartar, about fourteen miles from its junction with the Kura. It says nothing about Queen Thamar. Barda' is also described in "Yaqut," i. 558, 559.

and among them is the famous steed Shabdiz (promised to Khusrau by Nushirwān), who is of immortal lineage, and "swifter than are the thoughts of philosophers." But by far her greatest treasure is her niece Shirin—that is, "The Sweet." She is her brother's daughter, and is possessed of every charm of mind and body. Her eyes are dark, like that "water of life" which lies in a darkened, sunless country, and which Alexander the Great therefore failed to discover. Her lips are brilliant rubies, her teeth pearls, and her cheeks and nose are like a rosy apple cleft in twain by a silver sword. This last comparison may remind us of the description in the Song of Solomon, which Voltaire ignorantly derided, as was justly remarked by Leigh Hunt :

"Thy nose is like the tower of Lebanon,  
Which looketh toward Damascus."

In both comparisons the reference is only to whiteness, for a single point of similarity is enough for an Eastern poet.

In form Shirin is like the cypress or the palm, and in speech she is as sweet as her name.

The young prince falls in love with her from this description, and presses Shāpur to procure her for him, and to bring her to his palace of Mādāin (Ctesiphon). He undertakes to do so if possible, and sets off for Armenia. After a long journey, in which he passes by the mysterious cave of the marble horse, who is Shabdiz's sire, he arrives at an old Christian (*Keshishān*) church, and ascertains from the priests that Shirin is in the habit of visiting a garden in the neighbourhood in company with her maidens. He passes the night at the church, or monastery, for he has disguised himself as a monk, or *abdāl*. He is a skilful painter, and in this respect equal to Mānt, who in the East is more famed as an artist than as the founder of Manichaeism. So he makes a portrait of Khusrau, and early next morning hangs it on a tree in the garden before Shirin's arrival. She sees it, but her servants think it is the work of a demon, destroy it,

and burn rue (to avert the evil eye), and remove the princess to another garden. Shäpür makes a second portrait, and hangs it up in the new garden. Shirin sees it, and sends one of her maidens to fetch it; but the latter hides it. Then Shäpür makes a third portrait, and this time Shirin fetches it herself, and keeps possession of it. She becomes violently enamoured, and longs to know whom it represents. Shäpür, who is in hiding, hears her remarks, and, saying to himself, "the game has neared the snare," he, in his disguise of a priest, makes his appearance before her. In reply to her questions, he tells her that the portrait is that of a great prince called Khusrau Parvez. She is so overcome with love that she begs him to tell her how she can approach the prince, and he suggests that she should get her aunt's leave to go hunting, and to ride Shahdiz. This horse is so incomparably swift that she will easily outstrip her companions, and make her way to the prince's palace at Madain (Ctesiphon). She follows his advice, and rides off next morning. Dusty and tired, she comes to a beautiful lake, ties up her horse, and proceeds to take a bath. Meanwhile, Khusrau has been impatiently waiting for the return of his messenger. He has also had the misfortune to fall out with his father, on account of some of his servants having, without his knowledge, struck coins in his name. He therefore, by Buzürg Umed's advice, leaves his home for a time, and sets out towards Armenia. By chance he comes to the lake and sees the beautiful bather. He is struck with her loveliness, and doubts if she can be a mortal. Moreover, his delicacy does not allow him to continue to gaze upon her. So he turns away his head. At first Shirin did not see him, for her long hair covered her face, but when she moved it aside, she emerged "like the moon from behind a cloud," and perceived him. When he modestly turned away, she rushed ashore, dressed herself, and mounted the famous Shabdiz, and sped away like the wind. By this happy artifice the poet keeps the lovers apart, for when the prince

turns round again he can see nothing of the girl or of her horse. Full of sadness he, after a vain search, wends his way towards Armenia. Meanwhile Shirin goes on to Madiün (Ctesiphon), and arrives at the palace, where she is not over well received, as the women are jealous of her beauty. Their morals also disgusted her, and at last she induces them to build a residence for her elsewhere, saying that she is a hill-woman, and that her cheek-roses will grow yellow if she stay longer in the plains. They, in collusion with an architect, build for her a wretched house, more like a prison than a residence, and there she endures much suffering and loneliness. This is Qisr Shirin,\* the site of which is still known. Eventually she is brought away from this dismal place by Shāpūr, who conveys her to her aunt at Barda'. The aunt, of course, had been much grieved by her disappearance, but had declined to send search-parties after her, as she had a dream that a falcon had escaped from her wrist, but had afterwards returned of his own accord.

The poet now contrives still to keep the lovers apart, for while Shirin is on her way to Barda', Khusrau gets news of his father's death, and of the rebellion of Bahrām Chobān, and departs to his kingdom. He has not sate long upon his throne when he is defeated by the rebel, and obliged to fly back to Armenia. On his way thither he meets in with Shirin, who has gone out hunting, and this is the occasion of the first interview between the lovers and of their mutual recognition. Mahīn Bānū now takes the opportunity to give her niece some excellent advice about the wiles of men, and in particular charges her never to yield to Khusrau except on condition of a regular marriage. She binds Shirin to this by a solemn oath, and the latter always observes it. It would appear that Nizāmi was himself

\* It is described in "Yaqut's Geography," iv., p. 112, as near Qarmashīn, and between Hamedan and Holwan. It was visited by Mr. Bishop ("Journeys in Persia," etc., i., p. 79, London, 1891). She describes it as a wildy-situated village on the right bank of the Holwan. It lies within the Persian border, on the road from Baghdad to Kirmānshāh.

opposed to polygamy, for in a passage of the "Sikandarnāma," quoted by Bacher, p. 75, there is put into the mouth of Aristotle four lines in praise of monogamy. Some scenes of courtship between Shirin and Khusrau now follow. One day she and her seventy maidens join with the prince in a game of polo. On another they wander about the fields in the springtime, and on a third they go hunting together. One day Shirin is attacked by a tiger, and Khusrau distinguishes himself by killing it with his naked fist. In her love and gratitude, Shirin seizes the hand which has saved her and kisses it. Khusrau adroitly says, in allusion to her name, that the place for sugar is the mouth, and not the hand, and follows this up by breaking the seal of the box of comfits—that is, by kissing her lips. Shirin returns the kiss, and this, says the poet, is the first messenger of love that she sent to him. He then has some pretty lines about the first kiss of love, which he says is never forgotten, though it he followed by hundreds of others. An entertainment now takes place at which Khusrau calls upon the maidens to recite an *afshāna*, or epigram. They do so, and then Shirin, hopefully, and with her eyes upon the ground, utters a few lines expressive of her love for the prince. Her heart, she says, was without love and unpaired, when Shāpūr came and awakened her. Though love has brought upon her a thousand misfortunes, yet, as long as Khusrau attends upon her, she is richer than Kai Khusrau with his hundreds of slaves.

And now comes a quarrel between the lovers. Khusrau, excited by wine and lust, wishes Shirin to become his mistress. She refuses, and he goes off in dudgeon to Constantinople, and there marries Miriam, the daughter of the Greek Emperor. With the help of his father-in-law (Maurice), he defeats Bahrām Chohin, and seats himself upon his father's throne. He tries to forget Shirin in the enjoyment of power and the company of Bārbud, the famous musician. The deserted Shirin is left to grieve, and lies upon the ground like a slaughtered sheep. In her

distress she confides in her aunt, who is kind to her, and urges her to be patient and resigned. Shāpūr gives similar advice, and she contrives to endure. Soon after this her aunt dies, leaving her kingdom and her wealth to Shirin, and here the poet has some eloquent lines on the miseries and uncertainties of life. Shirin ascends the throne, and for a time does her duty to her subjects, and is beloved by them. But her love for Khusrau is too deep, and after a twelvemonth she abandons her kingdom and retires with some of her maidens to a place where she can be comparatively near Khusrau. Meanwhile the volatile Khusrau has been so affected by the singing of the minstrel Bārbud, who ends his music by a strain in praise of Shirin, that he resolves to see her once more. So he goes to his chamber and endeavours to induce his wife Miriam to send for her. He vouches that Shirin will be a most submissive companion for her, and even he as her servant. But Miriam replies with spirit that, if Shirin come, she will at once hang herself with a rope of musk—that is, with her tresses. And, to show her determination, she swears by her father's crown and her husband's throne that she will do this. She tells him that he does not know the wiles of women. There are many of them who cannot in arithmetic distinguish between fifty and a hundred, and yet can in craftiness give points to Mercury. Using, as a Christian, her Biblical knowledge, she says that woman was born out of the left side, and nothing that comes from the left can be right (*rāst*).

Khusrau is now base enough to send Shāpūr to Shirin to try and induce her to come to him in disguise, and to be his mistress in secret. Shāpūr has to undertake the unworthy mission, but Shirin is now wiser than when she was an unlessoned girl, and so was misled by Shāpūr. She is discreet and virtuous, and refuses Khusrau's degrading invitation. She makes Shāpūr an eloquent reply, in which she reminds him of how he had deceived her once before, and had caused her much misery. Her denunciation of Khusrau is well merited, but is, perhaps, a little too long.

Indeed, this seems to me to be generally the case with her speeches. She spends more words on Khusrau than he deserves, and we have page after page of their altercations, he trying to make her consent to his wishes, and she expostulating with him and rejecting him. The most touching thing in her address to Shāpūr is that she breaks down at the end, and sends messages and tender reproaches to her lover, which show her fondness for him. In the quaint language of the poet, "Though in her railing she broke the glass on the stone—that is, though she used every violence of language—her lips were cutting the tariff of war (?)." When she had vented her wrath upon Shāpūr, she became more moderate, and gently said to him: "When you pay your respects to the king, give him this message from Shirin: 'O faithless lover, where is that companionship that was sweeter than honey? I thought that you'd never leave me, that you would never buy another idol (*but* which also means a beauty); now I find I am mistaken, for you have given a place in your heart to my enemy. When you have thus despised me, do not search for me if I fly away; give a writ of release to me who am your maid-servant.'" She also begs Khusrau not to revenge himself upon her country of Armenia, and concludes by bewailing her unhappiness. In the end Shāpūr admits that she is right in her refusal, and that her heart is a better counsellor for her than he himself. He penitently kisses the floor of the room and retires.

We are now introduced to Shirin's other lover, the sculptor and engineer Farhād. In her retreat Shirin lived chiefly upon milk, and there was a difficulty in procuring enough for herself and her maidens, as the cattle-folds were far away. She applies to Shāpūr for help, and he advises her to employ his schoolfellow, who is as great at engineering as he himself is at painting and literature. He will be able to make a canal whereby the milk can be conveyed to her. Farhād is introduced to her, and he undertakes the work. But, unfortunately for himself, he is fascinated by

her sweet voice, which was such as would have hewitched the philosopher Plato, and falls in love with her. From the hopelessness of his passion he abandons society, and goes wandering about in the mountains and the wildernesses. Khusrau, who is always taking note of Shirin and her surroundings, hears of his attachment, and sends for him. His messengers have difficulty in finding him, but one beautiful spring day, which gives occasion for an animated description of the wild flowers, and to an ode by Farhād, he is found and induced to come to court. Khusrau reasons with him about his passion, but is baffled, and at last, as a means of diverting Farhād's thoughts, suggests that he could perform a public service by cutting a road through a rock. Farhād offers to undertake the task if Khusrau will give up his pursuit of Shirin. This makes Khusrau very angry, and he feels inclioed to have Farhād strangled. But he reflects that the task he has proposed is an impossible one, and that there can be no danger in agreeing to Farhād's condition. So he swears that he will give up Shirin, and Farhād rushes off to make the road. But first he sculptures Shirin, Khusrau, and the horse Shahdīz on a rock. These are still to be seen at the Tāq-i-Bostān, or Garden-arch, which is a grotto cut out on a rock near Kirmānshah (Gibb, *loc. cit.*, I., p. 322). When he has done this, Farhād breaks out with a long lament about his hopeless love.

The next canto describes Shirin as sitting among her maidens, and gossiping with them about various matters. Eventually they begin to talk about Bisitūn and the wonderful work that Farhād is doing there, and suddenly Shirin says, with a smile, that she will go and see him. "Perhaps," she says, "a spark may come from his stone and iron, and kindle love in my heart!" So she orders her horse, and rides off to Bisitūn with her companions. They find Farhād at his work, and he, in his delight at her coming, reveals his passion to her. She makes no direct reply, but presents him with a bowl of milk. She then sets about her

return, but her horse (it is not the famous steed Gulgün) is fatigued and unable to move. She is in danger of falling, but Farhād, who is gifted with superhuman strength, lifts up both herself and her horse and carries them off to her abode. This seems a favourite subject for the illustrators of manuscripts, for in several of them we have a picture of Farhād's holding aloft the horse and Shirin.

Khusrau soon hears of Shirin's visit, and is also informed that Farhād has been so inspired by it that he is making rapid progress with the road, and will finish it in the course of a month. So he consults his ministers as to how he should get freed from his promise, and they suggest that he should send Farhād a false report of Shirin's death. Probably this will make him kill himself. So Khusrau sends an evil-visaged and crooked-minded messenger to him to tell him the false story. As soon as Farhād hears the news he drops down dead. Sheyki apparently represents Farhād as committing suicide by throwing himself down a rock, but Nizāmi is more poetic. He gives us to understand that the mere shock of the news killed Farhād. He rolled down like a ball, he says: "*Zamīn bar yād aō būsid u jān dād*" ("He kissed the ground in memory of her (visit) and gave up his life"). His axe he flung down the hill. It had a handle of pomegranite wood, and this took root and became a tree, and bore much fruit. Whoever eats of this is cured of his ailments. "Though Nizāmi has not seen this tree, he has read about it in books." Shirin was deeply grieved for the death of Farhād. She felt as if a choice bird had left her garden, and shed many tears. She had his body wrapped in a shroud, had it properly buried, and had a dome placed over it. She also made the tomb into a shrine.

Hereupon Khusrau had the hardihood to write to her an unfeeling and bantering letter. He spoke of Farhād as a porter (alluding to his lifting up Shirin), and said that, if one bird had flown from her garden, there were eagles and other fowls in her heaven to wait upon her. "If a drop

has fallen from your pitcher, there are many Tigrises to supply your canal." She is the day, Farhād was a star, and it is fitting that the star should disappear when the morning breaks. She is the garden, Farhād was a weed in it, and it was right that it should be removed. She was the candle, he the moth, and so was rightly burnt.

It so happened that before Shirin could reply to this insulting letter, Miriam, the wife of Khusrau, died, and Shirin took occasion by this to write a bitterly ironical reply. She mimicked his expressions, and, quoting an alleged verse from "Firdusi," remarked that the death of the ass was a bridal day for the dog. Justly did Khusrau say to himself, on receiving this reply, that, in the words of the proverb, "he who flings clods must expect to be answered by stones." Later on, in a conversation between the two, when Khusrau found that he could not induce Shirin to receive him into her castle, he had the impudence to taunt her with Farhād's love, and to insinuate that she had caused his death by allowing him to cherish a hopeless passion. The adorable Shirin, as Sir William Jones calls her, answers with spirit that Farhād had always behaved to her with respectful deference, and had never for a moment made love to her. She had called him brother, and, with exception of the one interview, it was only her voice that he had heard. He had shown her a thousand respectful attentions, while Khusrau had never made a single inquiry after her. A thorn which may become a flower is better than a cypress that never bears fruit.

When Khusrau found that Shirin would not accept him, he went off in a huff to Ispahan, as he had formerly done to Constantinople, and, after some discreditable proceedings, married a lady named Shakar. This is a part of the poem that one would wish away. Khusrau, however, still hankered after Shirin, and in order to make her wearied of her solitude, and to punish her for refusing him, he withdrew from her Shāpūr, who was now her trusty counsellor.

Shirin is thus left alone in Qisr Shirin, and the poet

gives a vivid description of the first night of her loneliness. It seemed to her to be a year in length, and we have a picture of a dark and lonely night, with the slumbering watchmen, and nothing awake except the stars, which probably suggested the description of night in Jāmī's "Joseph and Zulaikha." Morning dawns at last, and Shīrīn becomes a little more composed. She retires to her chamber and turns to her God, and pours out her feelings in a touching litany, of which I have attempted a translation. The striking thing in her prayer is the power of sympathy for her fellow-creatures that it exhibits. No sufferer is left uncommemorated. Shīrīn appeals to God by the sorrows of the homeless wanderer, and of the feeble and aged left behind on the desert by the caravan, by the orphan children, and by the prisoners in their dungeon.

#### SHIRIN'S PRAYER WHILE ALONE IN QISR SHIRIN.

"Lord! turn my night into day,  
 Make my day bright as is now that of Thy world;  
 I have a black night and a hopeless dawn,  
 Grant me in this night a countenance bright as the sun.  
 I mourn the destruction of that Lion among men (Farhid),  
 Grant me a joy which may overcome this sorrow.  
 I lack the strength to endure so much grief,  
 Help my affliction, Thou Helper of the suffering.  
 I cannot bear this narrow lodging,  
 Deliver me as the ruby is freed from the stone.  
 Thou art the Friend of every petitioner,  
 Grant relief to my petition.  
 By the tears of forlorn children,  
 By the sorrowing bosoms of the aged and oppressed,  
 By the proofs that convince the mind,  
 By the words that make the heart burn,  
 By the wayside pallet of the pauper,  
 By the resignation (*Aṣṣim*) of prisoners in their dungeon.  
 By the prayers of solicitors for justice,  
 By the cries to Thee of the criminal,  
 By the pure words of Thy faithful servants,  
 By the greatness of Thy prophets,  
 By the needy who are in bondage,  
 By the wounded lying in their blood,  
 By those who have lost house and home,  
 By those left behind by the Caravan,

By the sighs of the newly converted,  
 By the groans that come from the afflicted,  
 By the flower\*-scattering of those who weep,  
 † By the book and the lamp of those who rise up early,  
 By the light of those who abide in Thy courts,  
 By Thy favours which are past counting,  
 By the approved dwellers in solitude,  
 By the innocent and the unspotted,  
 By every worship that is acceptable to Thee,  
 By every prayer that is listened to by Thee,  
 By the last sigh that goes up from the hovel (?),  
 By the Great Name that issues from the Throne,  
 Have mercy on my heart full of blood,  
 And deliver me from this whirlpool of grief.  
 Were every hair of mine a tongue,  
 Each one would utter Thy praise.  
 Hitherto I have been tongueless and silent,  
 And have not spoken out of hundreds of thanksgivings.  
 Thou art Being, with thee there is no Not-Being;  
 Thou art Being, and aught else is Not-Being.  
 Thou art hidden under the veil of the Unity,  
 Thou hast established the heavens, and opened day and night,  
 The world, life, and food—all three are Thy gift.  
 Whether Thou givest food, or takest away life,  
 Thou knowest all, let Thy will be done."

The poet adds :

"As she prayed much out of a pure heart,  
 As tears fell from her eyes on the dust,  
 God granted expansion to her straitened heart,  
 He turned the iron key of her prison,  
 He caused Khusrau's heart to be touched by her grief."

For now her lover found no satisfaction for his soul in his new bride, and went off, ostensibly to hunt, but really to visit Shirin. But Shirin is still hurt and proud, and refuses to admit him into her castle. She and Khusrau, however, hold long and wearisome conversations, and then he goes.

\* Compare Virgil's

"Manibus date lilia plenis;  
 Purpureos spargam flores."

† In the Newal Kishore edition of 1871, p. 119, two lines occur here which are wanting in some of the manuscripts:

"By the sufferings of Joseph and the grief of Jacob,  
 By the sacrifice of Abraham and the patience of Job."

off in a rage. He complains of his sufferings while waiting in the cold at Shirin's gate, accuses Shāpūr of having induced him to degrade himself by his appeals to Shirin, and says that it were better to be trampled under the feet of raging elephants than to hold out one's hand in supplication before the low-minded. Shāpūr, the wise, counsels patience, and suggests that Shirin will change her mind, and become more gracious. Unfortunately, he is right, for the weak and loving woman repents of her harshness, and goes off to Madā'in to make peace with her lover. Shāpūr receives her, and keeps her concealed. Then comes a scene in which the two singers Nagīsā and Bārhud chant odes to the lovers. The end is that Shirin reveals herself, and that she and Khusrau become legally married. And so the long delayed union takes place, but Shirin's happiness is not of long duration. Khusrau has had a son by Miriam, and this horrid youth, Shiroya, Shirin's stepson, falls in love with her, and, in order to get possession of her, dethrones and kills his father. He then invites Shirin to marry him, and she, in order to gain time, pretends to consent, but begs that she may first go to the fire-temple and pay her respects to the dead. This is allowed, and she stabs herself over Khusrau's body. The poem ends with a letter of the prophet Muhammad, introduced, evidently, in order to conciliate the orthodox, and with an account of Nizāmi's introduction to the reigning chieftain, Qizil Arslān. The latter, after praising the poem of Khusrau and Shirin, asks if his brother and predecessor, the Ataheg Muhammad Jahānpahlwān, had given the poet any reward for his years of labour. Nizāmi answers that Jahānpahlwān had promised him two hamlets, but that death had prevented the completion of the gift. Thereupon Qizil Arslān gives him a village (not, I think, two, as in Bacher and Robinson). As this canto refers to Qizil Arslān's death, which took place by assassination in A.D. 587, or 1191, it must have been written long after the rest of the poem.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

No. XVI.—THE LOO CHOO, OR RYŪ KYŪ ISLANDS.

By CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

THESE islands, which form a group in themselves, numbering from eighteen to twenty, are, taken collectively, one of the most interesting possessions of Japan. There are many reasons for making this statement, but chiefly because they differentiate widely from other dependencies under the Japanese flag.

Looking at the map on the Eastern side of Japan proper, we become aware that a long chain of islands dot the Eastern Pacific. They are nearly all habitable, and along the coastline from Kamtskatska to Australia; these, or portions of these at least, in prehistoric times, must have broken away from the mainland. Possibly, Japan itself had a nearer proximity to the great continent of China or Russia on the western side.

To strengthen this belief we have always to remember that the convulsions of nature were fierce and terrific, as well as very sudden, east of Asia. The Kuriles, Yesso, and other islands, from north to south being volcanic, bear out this testimony. In consequence of this, the characteristics of the people who inhabit them supply interest alike for the explorer and the ethnographist.

The islands under consideration are known to us by several synonyms. The foreigner has given them the

name of Loo Choo, the natives call them Doo Choo, the Japanese Ryū Kyū, and the Chinese Liu Ch'u. But these are by no means all. There exists a greater variety of appellations, each of which has a different etymological value.

The name of the largest island in the group is *Ōshima-wa*, the central *Okina-wa*, while the southern and extreme portion are named *Saki shima-retto*, which means "a string of islands." The southern portion includes three of fairly large dimensions, respectively called *Ishigaki-jima*, *Iromoto*, and *Yori-no-kuni*.

The northern group is now in the hands of a very able Governor-General—H. E. Baron Narahara. The central group, *Okina-keo*, is under the prefectures of Kagoshima, which faces *Okina-ken* from the mainland.

The capital of the Loo Choo is Shuri, whose port is Nasa, called *Okina-wa* by the Japanese. It is reckoned that the group consists of about 1,000 square miles of land, a measurement of 768 miles of coast line. Longitude,  $127^{\circ}$ - $130^{\circ}$ ; latitude,  $26^{\circ}$ ,  $28^{\circ}$ ,  $30^{\circ}$ .

The Ryū Kyūs fall like a cluster of emeralds or a necklace of precious gems into the Pacific. They are rich in vegetation of certain kinds, some being amply dowered by nature, and favoured with her smiles. But others are more severely treated by the fierce typhoons that batter at the lofty cliffs and mountainous elevations of granite, slate, limestone, quartz, and so forth, sending thrills of fear through the hearts of the placid inhabitants.

Rain falls at other seasons ceaselessly, and assists the rich vegetation to prosper, for the Gulf Stream passes close by, and the air is mild and soft. These Emerald Isles are a possession of rare promise. The scenery is unlike that of Japan; the plains are open and bare in places. The waving plantations of coarse rush grass and pliant bamboo do not lend to the landscape their artistic attributes. Open plains stretch out for miles, for forests are scarce, only represented by tall weather-beaten pines, scattered here and there.

The aspect of Amami Oshima, or *Oshima-wa*, is therefore more distinguished than that of *Okina-wa*, where the hills are more levelled and softened down in outline, tall pines, and palms, and banana trees favour this more restful group; and sago trees alternate the forestry.

The chain of islands curves away from the mother-land as if some swift current or fierce tempest had influenced them towards Formosa's green plains. In the distance, far away, blue hazy lines of hills zone the horizon's rim.

The chief port of Miyako Island very much resembles the primitive charm of our old English villages, with its homesteads covered with thatch, with whitened walls and small windows—houses or huts, just one storey high, with chimneys in the roof. These homesteads nestle together, standing the wear and tear of rain and tempests; artistic in their structure, and, after all, more restful and commanding of admiration than the unsightly habitations of the industrial classes of England to-day. The warm influence of the Gulf Stream has enriched this cluster of islands, for they are surrounded by coral reefs, tender shades of pink and red fringe the water line, vegetation of the richest dyes finds a footing, and lovely colours are visible in the clear depths of pure waters. The following lines seem so appropriately to describe the condition of the surroundings of the Ryū Kyū Islands that the impulse to quote them is irresistible:

"Deep in the wave is a coral grove,  
Where the purple mullet and the gold-fish rove,  
Where the sea-flower spreads its leaf of blue  
That is never wet with the falling dew,  
In bright and changeful beauty shine  
Far down the green and glassy brine.  
The floor is of sand as the mountain drift,  
And the pearl shells spangle the finny snow,  
From coral reefs the sea-plants lift  
Their buds where the tides and the billows flow.  
The water is calm and still below;  
The winds and the waves are absent there;  
And the flowers are bright as the stars that glow  
In the motionless fields of upper air."

There, with its waving blades of green,  
 The sea-flag streams through the silent water,  
 And the crimson leaf of the *culse* is seen  
 To blush, like a banner bathed in slaughter."\*

Mr. Charles Levenworth, in his most delightful account of the Loo Choo Islands, which appeared in the *East of Asia Magazine*, described, amongst other interesting features of the lovely surroundings, "shoals of little fishes of a deep cerulean blue, darting here and there through the forest that covers the bottom of the sea, their little bodies flashing brightly in the sunlight."

The Ryū Kyū Islands are blessed with a mild, salubrious atmosphere, neither extremes of heat or cold. The rainfall, however, is excessive, but the temperate climate is conducive to the luxuriant vegetation. The tempests balance the existing state of moisture by the fierce winds drying the soil: It is stated that two crops of rice can be gathered in yearly. There is every prospect of the Ryū Kyūs becoming, under careful cultivation, valuable to the Mother Country. Moreover, as rubber-trees can thrive upon the soil, to which many speculators are turning their attention, these verdant isles will soon leap into prominence. At present there are no foreign residents, except five French missionaries. The stranger is neither wanted nor welcomed. The inhabitants are a bright and contented community. They are mostly farmers, disposing of their products and industries among themselves, or forwarding goods and comestibles to Kagoshima, their nearest commercial port.

They rear, and live principally on, the sweet potatoes. This is their staple food. For fruit they grow the banana, cocoa-nuts and beans. For cereals they cultivate rice and sago. Their meat is pork. There are extensive, active pork markets where pigs are bought and sold. The rearing of this porcine domestic and useful animal is commended

\* This poem was learnt as a holiday task fifty years ago. The author of this monograph hopes that the poet will overlook any mistake in the telling, being unable to obtain the "School Circle of Gradation," from whence this lovely description was committed to memory.

and encouraged. The flesh is eaten; the blood is also a useful commodity. Amongst others, it supplies a substance for a certain stage in the manufacture of lacquer. The inhabitants of Ryū Kyū produce a lovely, intensely bright red lacquer, whose beauty and worth is known to most lovers of art treasures from the Far East. In colouring, it is quite a departure from most of the lacquered industrial objects. But a stronger make to that which is known to collectors is extensively in demand among the Japanese for domestic purposes.

Each island, or island group of the Eastern Pacific, has its own individuality of manufacture. In Formosa are manipulated filigree silver ornaments and jewellery that far exceed the filigree work of other countries. Yeo's speciality is shown in materials less costly, chiefly in wood and willow. The lacquer industry of Ryū Kyū employs many hands, owing to the amount of labour necessary to bring it to perfection. It must go through thirteen or fourteen stages at least before a really good piece can be pronounced useful and perfect.

This red lacquer must be carefully treated. It will not bear being exposed to the air, or to bright sunlight. In a very dry atmosphere it becomes cloudy and dull, at least if we may judge the effect of our English climate upon it.

But many articles are made besides drinking-vessels, lovely little rice-bowls, sweetmeat boxes, cake-plates, and other necessities. Square writing-boxes are often supplemented with additional treatment in the way of raised flowers and other designs, carved out of a kind of cement, and fixed on after the necessary tints have been supplied as a groundwork. There is another form of decoration. Over the foundation, while moist, patterns in gold are traced, or incised, or gold-dust is sifted into the lacquer in the design of some deep symbolic object, which is transferred to the lovely red surface. In this industry these workers share the brotherhood, and are placed on a footing with the industrial classes, of Dai Nippon.

Looms are set up and worked, as is usual in the East, chiefly by women. Hempen materials are woven, and supply needed garments, though the breadths are narrow, and not particularly fine in texture. A fine silk or cotton material, as well as coarse hempen fabric, engages the attention of the industrial class, and is all the result of hand labour. Coal is also found in the islands, but this is exported to Formosa.

The population is estimated from 976,000 to 1,000,000 souls, of which the proportion of women is only slightly in excess of the men. These figures include from 4,000 to 5,000 Japanese, who are distributed all over the islands. In appearance, the people of the Ryū Kyūs somewhat resemble the Japanese, only they are rather better looking, that is to say, they have not such pronounced features—flat noses or oblique eyes. They are rather taller, and are well built. They are of a calm, happy temperament. They are particularly fortunate in the choice made by the Government of sending H. E. Baron Narahara to look to their interests. This Governor-General is much beloved, for he is singularly gifted in possessing all those qualities which easily win the affection of a not over-educated community. A people who look up to their chief and cheerfully obey his mandates. A chief who, on his part, is in perfect sympathy with those whose welfare has been placed in his hands.

In matters of costume, the models of Japan have been adopted, with slight variety. But here, again, the men practice little conceits of their own in the matter of head-gear, or hair ornaments. This, however, is only a mild and inoffensive remnant of a barbaric tradition. Their dress or coats have much consideration. There are rules of courtesy to be observed in respect of patterns selected. One has to avoid displaying the design of another; and, though many patterns only vary slightly, they should never be exactly imitated by men of inferior classes. Hats or hair ornaments are matters of great concern, particularly among the men. The people seem to be a fusion of the

two races from Yeso, and the extreme of Formosa. But they do not even practise the mild barbaric nature, or the gruesome customs of the inert Aious, or the fierce, uncivilized savagery of the Formosian head hunters; neither have they emulated the keen activity of the Japanese, who inhabit the main Island Empire.

The history of these Islands commenced to become interesting in the twelfth century. They were at that time ruled over by a king whose father fled thither after a life of great excitement experienced in Japan.

From the twelfth century and onwards, Japan was more or less in a constant state of revolt. One clan after another sought for the coveted supremacy of military rulership.

This was partly owing to the extreme reverence that was felt towards a Sovereign of Divine Descent, who was considered too sacred a person to actively participate in the affairs of State. In the past centuries of memorable events, great men arose, doubtful warriors, who turned the tide of conflict hither and thither. No sooner was one feud pacified than another freshly-organized strife between the clans marred the peace of the country.

In order to escape vengeance from one party or the other, when their intrigues failed, those who could flee the scene of action in safety sought refuge or were banished to these outlying habitable lands.

As the famous heroes, Yoshitsuo and Benkie, are said to have fled to Yeso, and become respectively king and courtier amoog the Ainus, the beloved hero Tametomo became associated with the Ryū Kyū Island. This celebrated warrior is known to us as Hachiro Tametomo, the eighth son of General Tameyoshi, of the House of Minamoto. He was the brother of Yositomo, and uncle to the Shōgun Yoritomo and Yoshitsuo.

Tametomo, as we see, belonged to a noble line of historical personages. Like all heroes, in youth he was wild and reckless, daring and disobedient. It would seem that, unless these bad qualities initiated their career, the

heroes of Japan in the Middle Ages would never have become renowned. Tametomo was skilled in warfare, especially in the use of the bow. This was the deadly weapon during the wars of the Gempei. Iron-headed arrows were selected by the archers. These arrows were not only deadly instruments ; they were works of art, and even of beauty, in themselves. Upon these missiles were engraved patterns and symbols that conveyed secret messages to those who relied upon them in the day of battle. When quite a young man, Tametomo was banished by his father Tameyoshi to Kiushiu, who, in the hope of his rebellious nature being quelled, was glad to feel he was far from the theatre of war and disquietude, for the ex-Emperor Toba's two sons both aspired to the vacant throne. Tametomo and his father were on the side of the elder son, Sutoku; the Taira's were on the side of Go Shirakawa, the younger son.

Tametomo was a desperate archer, whose aim was sure and precise. He therefore carried everything before him, and this confounded his enemies at every turn. His cunning and strategy were unprecedented. The deadly hatred between the Taira and Minamoto clans was long and fierce. It was during this turbulent epoch that the fame of the Minamoto burned as a shining light for others to follow. His was no will-o'-the-wisp glory, but his name acted as a magic spell, and to this day illuminates the pages of Japan's past history.

Tametomo conquered the province of Kiushiu, where he lived and reigned as a prince among the people. But in his character was exemplified the belief that, however fierce a warrior, there was a tender spot in his iron heart, which proved that the fiercest natures are essentially human after all. For when Tametomo heard that, through his rebellious and wreckless deeds, his noble father, General Tameyoshi ; had been imprisoned, and that his life was in danger, Tametomo gave up all the land he had subdued in Southern Japan. He presented himself to those in

power and authority, and resigned every other hope in order to save his sire.

In Tametomo's turn, even his enemies admired this filial trait in his character. They dealt leniently with this desperate character, inasmuch that they did not deprive him of life. But they confined him for a time in a strong iron cage (a favourite form of cruelty and imprisonment during the barbaric age of China and Japan). They also cut the sinews of Tametomo's arm in view of depriving him of his brilliant accomplishment, for it was rumoured that it was owing to one of his arms being longer than the other, that he had gained such a mastery over his beloved weapon, and manipulated it with so much success.

Tametomo, after many vicissitudes, sought flight from his enemies. Shortly after they returned to the capital his aged parent and his brother were put to death by the Taira party. Tametomo's efforts proving fruitless in the cause of re-establishing Sutoku, the elder son of the ex-Emperor Toha, for whom he had fought so fiercely, he determined to leave Japan and pass over to the Ryū Kyū Islands, or settle at Oshima. When the opportunity came, he chartered some perilous harque, and settled in the islands unmolested for a time. There he lived a peaceful life, receiving homage, kindness, and consideration from the inhabitants, who made him a prince, and eventually a king. His son Shunten succeeded him in A.D. 1189.

We do not read that any aggressive policy marred this enterprise. On the contrary, the successive generations were beloved as rulers. The offspring of King Shunten flourished, and a peaceful state of affairs moulded the character of the inhabitants of the Ryū Kyū. They sent an ambassador annually, with presents to the Shōgun of Japan, from 1451 and onwards, but growing lax in this duty, and undertaking, in the seventeenth century, when the Shōgunate was more firmly established, and Iyé-yasu and his successors exhibited great autocracy, the Prince of Satsuma chastised the Ryū Kyūans severely for their

negligence, and constituted a dual sub-fief in conjunction with the reigning king. This state of affairs continued till the time of the Restoration. It is said that an organized invasion was set on foot even during the sojourn of Hachiro Tametomo, but that the fleet was destroyed miraculously by his prowess and the terror he aroused in the breasts of his antagonists. His arm healed in the mild and beautiful climate, and his sinews gained a greater amount of physical power.

But this is not all of the events that might have marred these happy isles. China, ever on the defensive in her traditions, as the Civilizer of all the Far East, and her dependencies, called for suzerainty, and claimed tribute, so that for some time the islanders had to pay double fees.

Eventually the Japanese refused to admit China's claims, and after many negotiations it was decided that the King of the Ryū Kyū should be brought more or less a captive to Japan, and that in future the Archipelago should be under a Japanese prefecture. This all came about owing to the Chinese refusing to chastise the Formosians for great cruelty and murder done on these islands to the people, for the expense of retaliation fell entirely upon the Japanese.

During the time of the persistent appeals on the part of the Americans for the opening of the new ports of the Mother Country, the Ryū Kyū islands were found a new and useful station for Japanese supervision, where messages might be conveyed and foreign ships barboured. Many pretty legends or traditions concerning Tametomo are to be found in Madame Ozaki's *Warriors of Old Japan*. They all prove that he became much subdued during his sojourn in the Ryū Kyūs, and, in consequence of the gentler side of his nature predominating amid the influences of his peaceful surroundings, he was much beloved by the friendly inhabitants.

Savc for one great drawback, we might name the Ryū Kyūs, "Avalion," or the Isles of the Blest, but alas! literally,

"The trail of the serpent is over them all"—the "trail of the serpent," or rather the deadly, poisonous snake—called *habu*, or *Trimeresurus*, which attain the length of 6 to 7 feet, and a diameter of from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 inches. Its bite is almost always fatal. A laboratory has been set up at Nara, under the able supervision of Dr. Yamamoto, and precautions are being taken to exterminate these pests. The Imperial Japanese Government are turning much attention to the matter. Snakes, venomous or even harmless, strike terror among the ignorant classes. Even this district, in which this monograph is written, is not entirely free from the foe. A snake catcher, Brusher Mills by name, spent all his life in endeavouring to keep down the poisonous adder, frequently met with in the New Forest, England. There is a prevailing idea that this brave forester made a good living out of his occupation, because it is known that in the internal parts of the snake there is curative fat to be found. This secretion is supposed to be an antidote for the sting or venom, and tradition has handed down the story that this fearless and kindly old man received something like a guinea an ounce for his moxa, or ointment. He is now dead. He is buried in the Parish Churchyard of Brockenhurst, where stands an ancient yew tree, mentioned in Doomsday Book. A carved monumental stone, depicting this hero, with many of his victims grasped in his naked hands, is reared to his memory by grateful inhabitants.\* The fauna of these islands

\* The curative fat was obtained from the internal portion of the adder; but, as each specimen only contained a very small quantity, a great many adders were required to produce any useful sufficiency. It was rubbed on the spot after the victim had been attacked. It was necessary to cut the wound first with a penknife, in order to make the spot bleed, and then to rub in the fat.

When the adders were caught, care had to be taken that they did not bite themselves in that part where the secretion lay. For this reason, Brusher Mills always carried a stick with a forked end. He used this to pin them on the ground by the neck just beneath the head, so that they could not turn on their own bodies. He then struck off their heads, and thus prevented them destroying the antidote of their bites.

The fat was prepared by gently boiling and straining off through a burnt cloth, and when it became clear, like jelly, it was preserved in bottles.

includes wild boars, deer, rats, and bats. There are ponies and cattle, and goats, besides the domestic pig already mentioned. This list is meagre, but good use is made of all available beasts of burden, for, as is usual, women take the greater share of labour, and the transit of goods is always difficult to organize, particularly until a country is advanced enough to make good roads from one centre of industry to another.

From an ornithological point of view, owing to the migration of birds that find the Ryū Kyūs the first station across the Eastern Pacific, the migration is on a very great scale. One island is more particularly favoured than the rest, and, after the breeding season is over, feathers of all colours and hues are collected, and exported for many purposes to foreign countries. The trade in feathers is enormous. Flocks of birds literally darken the sky as they seek refuge or rest for awhile. They are permitted a certain amount of time to enjoy the soft warm air, ere the slaughter and desecration is organised for the sake of pampering fashion, in supplying the cravings of passing fancies.

Trees are not so very plentiful, but we may mention that the camphor-tree is found in the northern districts, and that the camphor trade is a Government monopoly. Rubber-trees are also grown, and it is said that greater attention will be paid to this particular industry in future. The sago palm is much prized, and so plentiful is the banana, so abundant in its fruit, that there is no lack of this satisfying food and life-giving pod, which will prove, when commerce become more active, a great boon to foreign countries who are not able to produce the fruit. In England the

This preparation was usually undertaken during the month of March, and when properly formulated was considered a certain cure for adders' bites, also wounds, rheumatism, and other ailments.

This information has been given by a relation of our snake-catcher, also by one of the foresters of this district, whose long line of ancestry has worked in the New Forest for several centuries..

banana has become a great favourite, when the best kinds can be secured for consumption. It is a particular favourite with quite young children, and has been recommended by the faculty as one of the safest and most nourishing fruits for all, both young and old.

We are not surprised to find that the inhabitants of the Ryū Kyūs had recourse to that barbaric form of disfiguring the flesh by means of tattoo, for it was suffered for many reasons, particularly as a means of identification of tribes or communities. Strange to say, it was more often inflicted upon women than on men, and we find it was practiced by most islanders in the Pacific seas. But with the inhabitants of the Ryū Kyūs, patterns varied considerably to those selected by neighbouring islands, and the artistic work that is displayed by the Japanese in this particular art of skin puncture has not extended so far East. Marks or consecutive patterns on the hands or feet were considered sufficient to be endured. But this custom is dying out; it is interdicted by the Japanese Government.

The religious spirit of the inhabitants is very much wanting to be aroused. There are a few Buddhist temples scattered here and there, but the services of priests are only solicited at funeral ceremonies. Shintoism exists; it is made evident in the reverence which is shown for the dead; otherwise religion is almost unknown and unsought. The hearts of the people will be found virgin soil for sowing the seed of Truth and belief in the Divine origin of all things.

But for the last ten years the education of the people has been greatly considered, and an expansive movement is on foot for the cultivation of the mind. Schools have already been organized in various parts of the islands, especially in Shuri and Naba, and other more populated centres — primary schools, normal schools, schools for the industrial population, where forestry, agriculture, medicine, industries, and other important subjects can be learnt. The principal islands of Oshima and Okina wa Ken are well looked after. Five lighthouses have been erected between the various islands,

Means of communication by telegraph or cable have been instituted; various routes for the different lines of steamers have been established, by which news and important messages can be conveyed, especially between Kiushiu, Kagoshima, Formosa, Keelung, and all the nearest points of vantage.

Under the blessing of good administration, this lovely group of islands, which form on the eastern side of Japan a rainbow arch around the Land of the Risen Sun, will fling a radiation of peace and beauty as its dower to the Empire that has claimed it for her own.

It must be a pleasant task to work out great schemes among a people of such a gentle and placid disposition, who have dwelt for many centuries in some of the fairest isles of the Pacific. They are a great contrast to most peoples whose lot has been cast in lands surrounded by seas. Savagery seems almost unknown among them. There is but little crime to punish, and policemen are scarcely needed to keep the peace or bring miscreants up to justice. Wealth is distributed with wonderful impartiality, for we have it on good authority that there are neither very rich nor very poor among the inhabitants. There is a tendency to ignore a progressive policy, and a decided lethargy is shown towards the efforts of the past. The castles and other buildings are not sought to be preserved. The architectural structures, though possessing finish and a certain distinguished appearance, pass into decay and neglect, which will in the future retard the progress and inquiries of the antiquary.

Tombs and graveyards exist, and show a slight modification of design where a matter of class distinction is needed.

Like all past generations who have been left to themselves, the reverence for the dead is more marked even than for the living. Cemeteries receive more consideration than the former residences of kings, however beloved and honoured.

For this reason it remains to be seen to how great an extent the Japanese will emulate the sentiments of the

West in preserving the relics, wrought with so much care by generations of ancestors, who, though they have passed hence, are ever believed to be present upon earth.

Cemeteries can be seen from the shore, dotted in pure white, raised slabs, which gleam in the moonlight, and reflect their own written records in the clear, still waters above the coral reefs, in silent and impressive majesty.

Long may these fair isles continue peaceful amid the strife of years; long may these happy people enjoy just rule and administration, contented with their surroundings, knowing but little of the stirring world beyond, with all its ceaseless energy, its ambition unsatisfied, its labour unending by reason of the competition this twentieth century has aroused!

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BOOKS CONSULTED.—Madame Yukio Ozaki's "Warriors of Old Japan"; Charles Levensworth, "The Loo Choo Islands"; *East of Asia Magazine*; Transactions of the Japan Society, London, 1896-7; and other reliable works.

## THE NEW ETHIOPIA.

By FREDERICK A. EDWARDS, F.R.G.S.

REPORTS have from time to time reached this country from Abyssinia of the serious illness and expected death of the Emperor Menelik II., and there are grave fears that civil war may break out in the event of his powerful hand being removed from the helm of affairs in that country. These fears are not altogether without grounds, in view of the fact that the large empire over which Menelik rules has only been brought under one united rule during his own reign and by his own efforts. Ethiopia, as the inhabitants themselves call it, or Abyssinia, as it is generally called in England, is remarkable as being—with the possible exception of Morocco—the only native state which has effectually resisted the aggressions of European powers in the great “scramble for Africa” of the latter part of last century, and retained its independence. The era that saw the unification of Italy and of Germany has seen in Africa the similar consolidation of a number of long-disunited states, with, perhaps, this difference, that in the latter case the work was initiated and achieved by the monarch Menelik himself, the Negus Nagasti, or King of Kings, of Ethiopia. An empire brought together in so short a time, with numerous conflicting interests and aspirants to power, can hardly be considered as secure, especially as Menelik has no son to take up the reins when he himself is no longer able to hold them.

At the time when Menelik first came actively on the scene, just over half a century ago, Ethiopia was a dismembered Empire. It had never really recovered from the Mohammedan invasion under Mahomed Granye in the early part of the sixteenth century.\* Stricken sorely by the repeated onrushes of the fanatical hordes of Moslems, it was only saved from extinction by its mountainous nature and the aid of a few hundred gallant Portuguese soldiers. Weakened by this great struggle, it had to suffer another irruption from the wild and warlike Gallas, a pagan race who overspread the country much as the barbarians did in Europe at the breaking up of the Roman Empire. A virile savage race, they succeeded in obtaining a mastery over the more civilized Ethiopians, and brought them and their ancient line of kings—going back, it is claimed, to Menelik I., son of King Solomon of Judah and the Queen of Sheba—into subjection, till the proud "King of Kings" sank to the position of a mere puppet in the hands of rival Galla chiefs. To the north were the provinces of Tigré and Ambara, where the nominal King was practically a prisoner, without position and without power. Completely cut off from these northern provinces by the Gallas, who extended like a belt right across the country to the banks of the Abai, or Blue Nile, was the Kingdom of Shoa, whilst still further to the south the old Christian kingdoms of Guragé, Jimma and Kassa were completely submerged and lost in the flood of pagan Gallas.

The Ottomans, too, had encroached along the shores of the Red Sea; and in more recent years Egypt had been gradually seizing the northern provinces of Bogos and Hamassen in following up the wild schemes of Empire initiated by Mohammed Ali Pasba.

Such was the state of the country when the adventurer Kassa was crowned King of Kings of Ethiopia under the name of Theodoros in 1855. Although he claimed to be

\* For an account of this invasion, see *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1905, pp. 320-360.

of the legitimate line of the Queen of Sheba, he was really a usurper; but he gained great popularity as a national leader against the rule of the Galla races, and on their complete overthrow he at once set himself with energy to solidify his position over the whole kingdom. Before he had been on the throne many weeks he attacked and defeated the Wollo Gallas, who inhabited the country between Amhara and Shoa, capturing their great *amba* or mountain fortress Magdala, which was afterwards to become so famous in connection with the English expedition of 1868. He next turned his victorious arms against Shoa, which was then ruled by Hailu Malakot, son of Sahela Selassie; and, although the Shoans had an army 50,000 strong, they were defeated after a desperate struggle, their capitulation being hastened, if not caused, by the sudden death of their sovereign. Menelik, the young son of Malakot, and heir to the throne, was taken captive to Gondar. This occurred at the end of 1855 or in the early part of 1856.

The young prince was then about ten or eleven years old. It is not certain what was his exact age, for different years are given for his birth, varying from 1842 to 1845. A French author of a History of Ethiopia, Mons. L. J. Morié,\* who aims at cocksure precision in his dates, states that Menelik was born on August 17, 1844, not on the 18th, he is careful to add, in apparent correction of some other writer. But as this precision is able to give us the exact day and month in which the world was created, and a number of other equally impossible dates, he cannot be depended upon as an authority without verification. M. Morié adds that Menelik's grandfather, Sahela Selassie, who died in 1846, had the infant, then two years old, brought to his dying bed, and prophesied that the child would reign longer than himself, and that he would restore the ancient Ethiopian Empire to its original splendour.

\* L. J. Morié, "Histoire de l'Ethiopie (Nubie et Abyssinie) depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours," Paris, 1904, 2 vols.

Whether this was a prophecy written after the event, or whether it was a prophecy which aided its own fulfilment, is not clear. At any rate, Menelik is a man who believes in his own destiny, and is very superstitious ; and it is by no means impossible that the former was the case. It is a tradition that the legitimate Emperors of Ethiopia trace their descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and this line was said to be preserved only in Shoa, the northern provinces of Tigré, Amhara, etc., being in Sahela Selassié's time under Galla domination.

Menelik, then, was the legitimate heir to the throne, and this being so, it is somewhat surprising that Theodoros at first treated him with great favour, and brought him up with his own sons, even entrusting him with an independent command. In order to strengthen his adherence to his own cause, Theodore gave him his daughter in marriage. Later, however, Theodore must have realized the dangerous rivalry of the young Prince, and the latter was one of the victims of his fury who were confined in the fortress of Magdala, where the English consul and a number of European missionaries and others joined him in November, 1864. More fortunate than they, however, Menelik succeeded in effecting his escape. Theodoros, during the early part of his reign, had proved an able and vigorous ruler. Later, however, his mad freaks had alienated one part of the country after another until the whole of Ethiopia was seething with rebellion against the hated tyrant. Taking advantage of the disorganized state of affairs, and aided in his flight by the daughter of the Negus, whom he had married, Menelik managed to elude his guards and get away to the Wollo Galla country (July 1, 1865). Magdala, it should be remembered, stands in the country of these Wollo Gallas, who were ruled over at that time by a Queeo named Workitu. It is said that Theodoros was at Magdala at the time, and himself watched through a telescope the reception of the fugitive in the Galla camp. He held in the amba as a hostage the son of Queen Workitu, and he sent

a message to her threatening to kill the boy unless Menelik was given up. But the gallant Queen refused, and the son was cruelly put to death with a number of other Gallas in the power of the Emperor.

Menelik made his way to Ankobar, then the capital of Shoa, with a few followers, deposed and executed Theodore's governor, and was welcomed back by the people after his nine or ten years' absence, and at once recognized as King. It was a tradition that the reunion of Ethiopia was to be brought about by a King named Menelik ; there had been no King of this name since the legendary son of the Queen of Sbeba, and it was not unnatural, therefore, that the ambitious young Menelik II. should look upon himself as the promised saviour of his country. Step by step he set about reconstituting his kingdom. For three years he devoted himself to strengthening and disciplining his army, to building towns, and to repelling the incursions of the Gallas.

Shoa, like the other parts of Ethiopia, was governed under a system of feudalism similar to that in Europe in the Middle Ages. There was no regular army in our sense of the term, but the Negus, or King, called out his chiefs at the head of their people, and these obtained their payment in the loot which they captured in their raiding expeditions against the Gallas. These Galla tribes inhabited the lower and very fertile regions south of the great bend of the Hawash River in which Shoa is situated. Menelik did not lay these beautiful countries waste as his father had done, but promised the agricultural races honourable treatment and a kind of mild vassalage, and imposed the payment of a moderate tribute. The Gallas, surprised at his unexpected generosity and clemency, willingly accepted his terms, and from former foes enrolled themselves as his followers and accompanied him on his expeditions. In October, 1867, he led an army computed at 40,000 to 50,000 men against the Wollo Gallas, over whom a rival Queen was disputing power with Queen Workitu, proclaiming that he came, not as an enemy, not to destroy or plunder,

but to re-establish in her rule the deposed and lawful Queen Workitu. On this the tribes sent in their adhesion. Menelik in the following month marched against Magdala, where the European prisoners were still in durance, and had even been put in chains since Menelik's escape. It was essential to his security to obtain possession of this great mountain fortress, which commanded the Galla country. He negotiated secretly with Hormuzd Rassam the British agent, who was then confined there with the other Europeans; but he must have realized that it was too hard a nut to crack unless he had the aid of the garrison, for after appearing in sight of the place and firing a few shots he withdrew. He had heard that Theodore was approaching, and feared to meet this still redoubtable chief.

Even at this time preparations were being made for the advance of the British expedition under Sir Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala). On April 13, 1868, Magdala was stormed, and Theodore perished by his own hand, the captives having previously been liberated. Among them were many Shoans, and with the accession of these Menelik began to feel himself strong enough, after a few preliminary minor campaigns, to undertake offensive operations against the northern provinces, which had been left without a ruler on the withdrawal of the British expedition. But these projects were of little avail, for a new ruler, another Kassa, afterwards the Negus Johannes, had arisen in the North, who, by the aid of a gift of guns in return for his services to the English, soon rose to supreme power in that part of Ethiopia. Menelik, however, succeeded in subjugating the Wollo Galla country, and occupied the coveted Magdala, which had been left deserted and partly destroyed by Sir Robert Napier. Johannes was a great and powerful leader, who, like his predecessor Theodore, aspired to bring the whole of Ethiopia under his rule, and a struggle would no doubt have ensued between him and Menelik had he not become embroiled in the aggressions of Egypt on his northern border, which culminated in the

abortive invasions of his country in 1875 and 1876. These he repelled with most disastrous results to the Egyptians, the latter being wiped out more effectually than the Italians were twenty years later at Adowa, not so very far distant from the place of the victories over the Egyptiaos.

This gave Menelik time to turn his attention to the Galla countries to the south. In 1875 he conquered Gurage, and in the following year led an expedition against the Gallas of the south-west. Early in 1877, however, probably thinking that Johannes was weakened by his struggle with the Egyptians, Menelik advanced against Abyssinia, and attacked Gondar. But Johannes was more than equal to him, and defeated him at Bujirrah, and Menelik had to go through the humiliating ceremony of publicly setting his neck under the foot of his overlord. Johannes imposed a heavy indemnity in gold and ivory, but behaved with much generosity to Menelik, returning to him his crown as vassal King of Shoa. A diplomatic marriage was then arranged between the only legitimate son of Johannes, Ras Areya Selassié, and Zohdetà, Menelik's daughter.

Having recognized that he was not strong enough to contend for the rule of the whole country, Menelik now again turned his attention to the south. In 1878 and the following years he was again at war with the Gallas, and the guns and cannon of his troops easily got the better of the lances and sabres which remained the sole arms of the Pagan tribes. This and subsequent expeditions had as their object the collection of ivory and other booty, and there seems to have been no idea at that time of ruling the country as part of his dominions. In 1882 he reduced the ancient countries of Jimma and Kassa to subjection, and brought back immense booty, besides imposing a heavy annual tribute. In the same year he sent an expedition against the Arusi Gallas, farther to the eastward, and then made war with Tekla Haimanot, King of Gojjam. But here he was interfering with the prerogatives of the Emperor Johannes, to whom the quarrel was referred; and

Menelik was punished. For seven days he appeared before the Negus Nagasti, carrying a stone on his neck, and it was only after this that he was reinstated as King of Shoa. Again he turned against the poor Gallas. Augusto Franzoi, an Italian who accompanied his expedition into the Arusi country in December, 1883, saw so much barbarity, sacking and burning of villages, carrying off youths into slavery, and murdering of women, children, old men and wounded, that his very soul sickened ; though Menelik himself tried to mitigate these horrors. The Gallas, although a numerous race, extended over a large area of East Africa, proved an easy prey to the Shoans, for they were not united under one government, but separated into petty tribes with little or no collective government. Against them, therefore, the better armed Shoans could carry on their plundering expeditions with impunity, strengthening and enriching themselves with the booty they acquired.

The break-up of Egyptian rule in the Sudan after the Mahdist rebellion had caused the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons in the various Red Sea ports and also from Harar, a large and important commercial town. Whilst the seaport towns were taken possession of by England, France and Italy, Harar, in the interior, was abandoned to the Arab Emir, and was regarded as outside the purview of the European powers. Menelik now turned an ambitious eye on this large and wealthy trading city, and in the latter part of 1886 he advanced against it. After defeating the Emir at Challanko on Christmas Day, he occupied the town in the following month. The town was given over to pillage, and was afterwards placed under the command of Menelik's nephew, Ras Makonen (or Makunai), an enlightened man, who afterwards played an important part in the history of Ethiopia.

Menelik's ambition to become the Negus Nagasti, or King of Kings, of Ethiopia, was not abandoned, and he only awaited his opportunity to assert himself. Ras Areyo Selassie, the only son of Johaones, died in June, 1888, and

in March of the following year Johannes was himself killed in a battle with the Dervishes at Galabat. Johannes had on his deathbed recognized as his heir his illegitimate son, Mangasha; but the latter was a weak man, and proved himself no match for Menelik, who at once assumed the title of King of Kings, the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the descendant of the Queen of Sheba, and marched at the head of an army of 130,000 men through the country of the Wollo Gallas towards Gondar. In November he was consecrated and crowned at Entotto by the Abuna (Bishop) Mateos, and when he transported his imperial palace to Entotto, the ancient capital, his power was undisputed in the whole of the country, with the exception of Tigré in the north, where the claims of Ras Mangasha were supported by the redoubtable Ras Alula.

There had been for years in Shoa a number of enterprising Italians who were making that country a base for the exploration of the unknown regions farther in the interior. In the friendly international rivalry in the exploration of "the dark continent" which preceded and inaugurated the "scramble for Africa," Italians had devoted their attention to this interesting region. In 1876 the Marquis Antinori had been sent to Shoa by the Italian Geographical Society in charge of an exploring expedition to the Galla countries to the south-west, then almost unknown. Menelik was then about thirty-two years of age, and Antinori described him as a man of good presence, with very black hair and beard, and regular features indicating nobility of race. His countenance was benevolent, his free and sober speech showed always the rectitude of his judgments, and Antinori thought him the finest man in the whole of Ethiopia. He was a great friend of Europeans, and a great admirer of their arms, the mechanism of which he thoroughly understood. He cordially welcomed the Italian travellers, and for many years they continued in his country, exploring and extending their influence. He granted Antinori thirty or forty

acres at Let Marefia, where a station was formed, which made a base for the expeditions into Gallaland. In 1879 Count Pietro Antonelli, a nephew of the great Cardinal, was sent out, and he in 1884 concluded a treaty with Menelik on behalf of the Italian Government. Menelik saw the advantage given to Europeans by the use of modern arms of precision, and the Italians gratified his desire to import such into his country. Antonelli accordingly acquired considerable influence with him, and acted as his diplomatic counsellor during the war between the Italians and Johannes, and a friendly convention was signed (1887) whereby Menelik undertook to remain neutral, and not support his suzerain, in consideration of receiving a present of 5,000 rifles.

Italy was now emulating the other European powers in the land-grabbing policy which eventuated in the partition of Africa. Commencing with a small establishment at Assab Bay, an arid and neglected corner of the Red Sea, the important seaport of Massowah was occupied in 1885 on the withdrawal of the Egyptians. Not satisfied with this, the Italians advanced on to the high and more healthy lands which form the northern outliers of the vast Abyssinian plateau, and occupied the villages of Uaa and Saati. This naturally embroiled them with the Abyssinians, whose territory they had trespassed on, and Ras Alula, after warning them, attacked and annihilated a small force of Italians at Dogali in January, 1887.\* The death of Johannes two years later and the unsettled state of the country consequent on it gave the Italians the opportunity to advance further; and Antonelli gave Menelik to understand that the Italians would assist him on to the imperial throne on his recognizing their claims to the provinces to the north of Tigré. Now Tigré was the one part of Ethiopia which still remained to be won over to Menelik, for here was the home of Ras Mangasha, who with bis

\* See *The Westminster Review*, November, 1897, pp. 477-489, "The Italians in Africa."

trusty henchman Ras Alula refused to recognize Menelik as the Negus. The latter was therefore easily persuaded to sign a treaty (May 2, 1889)—the treaty of Uchelli (or Uccialli, as the Italians write the word)—whereby “his Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia” recognized the province of Bogos and the villages of Halai, Saganeiti and Asmara as being within the Italian boundary. This at the time no doubt seemed a small price to pay for Italian aid.

Ras Makonen was sent on a mission to Italy, with Count Antonelli, to raise a loan with Italian assistance, and he on October 1 signed a supplementary convention with Signor Crispi, which provided for a loan of 4,000,000 lire (£200,000), and the rectification of the Italo-Ethiopian boundary, taking as a basis the actual possession *de facto*. Probably Makonen did not realize the significance of this last stipulation. Whilst he was absent from Ethiopia, the Italians had not been idle, and had pushed still further into the highlands north of Tigré. On June 2 they had occupied Keren, chief town of Bogos, which offered a good base for an attack on the fertile province of Hamasen and Northern Abyssinia, and on August 4 General Baldissera occupied Asmara, which he immediately commenced to fortify. In addition to Hamasen, this gave to Italy the command of the provinces of Okulé-Kusai and Serae; and the Italian Government was now so confident of the strength of its position that on October 11 it formally notified to the powers its assumption of a protectorate over Ethiopia. Thus at the time of the Convention signed on October 1 with Ras Makonen the *de facto* possessions of Italy extended farther south than the limits defined in the treaty of Uchelli. On January 2, 1890, King Humbert signed a decree constituting the colony of Eritrea of the Italian possessions on the Red Sea coast, including this newly seized territory; and during the same month General Orero (who had succeeded Baldissera) advanced to Adowa, the chief town of Tigré. But by this time Ras Mangasha must have seen that the pretended Italian

friendship was not to be trusted, and he lost no further time in coming to terms with Menelik, who was now in complete possession of the whole of Ethiopia, with the exception of the northern provinces seized by the Italians.

Menelik, who had hitherto been on the best of terms with Italy, was not prepared to accept the Italian protectorate over his dominions. This protectorate was declared by Italy in virtue of Article XVII. of the treaty of Uchelli, which in the Italian version provided that "His Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia coosents to employ the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy in treating of all matters that may arise with other powers and governments." In the Amharic version, however, by which Menelik considered himself bound, the words used were that he "may employ" the Italian Government, thus leaving it open to him to please himself whether he would do so or not. Whether this variation was due to his own astuteness or to the Italian official translator is not clear; but it is evident that Menelik never had any intention of placing himself under the suzerainty of Italy. He must have felt, too, that he was tricked by the supplementary convention signed by Ras Makoneo, which gave to Italy the territory occupied since the date of the original treaty; and, although he ratified the convention in order to ensure the arrival of the ammunition which was on its way from Italy, and which he required to establish his supremacy in the country, he denounced the treaty of Uchelli, writing to the King of Italy that he never meant to give up his independence and liberty of action. The efforts of Antonelli and the Italian Government to bring him to accept their view were unsuccessful, and Menelik sent letters of protest to the Powers.

In a circular dispatch addressed to the great Powers in April, 1891, Menelik defined the boundaries of his territory, including in it the provinces annexed by the Italians subsequent to the treaty of Uchelli. In this curious document, in which we may perhaps detect a

French hand, Menelik claimed that his Empire extended on the west to the Sobat and the White Nile, on the south to Lake Samhuru, and on the east to the country of the Ogaden Somalis, thus including countries which his raiding expeditions had never reached, and which had never probably been included in the Ethiopian Empire, even in the time of its widest expansion in ancient times. France was at this time doing everything in its power to thwart the extension of British influence in Africa, and this claim of the Ethiopian Negus to the bank of the White Nile was part of the French game. "In pointing out to-day," Menelik goes on, "the actual limits of my Empire, I shall try, if God gives me life and strength, to re-establish the ancient frontiers of Ethiopia to Khartum and Lake Nyanza and the Galla countries." Such a document as this, claiming dominion over regions of which he could have no possible knowledge from expeditions of his own people (for they seldom went beyond the Abyssinian plateau), could only have been written with the aid of some European. If it was not due to the inception of M. Léon Chesneux, a French engineer who had long been residing in Shoa, or, as is more probable, to M. Lagarde, Governor of Obok, it may have been due to the emissaries of Russia, who, true to the *entente* with France, joined with the latter country in opposing English and Italians wherever opportunity offered.

The Italians took no steps to enforce the protectorate except to send Count Antonelli and Dr. Traversi on missions to try to persuade Menelik to acknowledge the validity of the treaty of Uchelli. But the latter, whilst declaring his desire to remain on friendly terms with Italy, was not to be moved in this matter; and in February, 1893, Menelik, taking advantage of a clause in the treaty which provided that it might be modified after 1894 on giving one year's notice, sent letters to the principal European Powers denouncing the treaty. At the same time he showed that he still had no wish to be on other than friendly terms with the Italians.

Meanwhile the latter were strengthening their position in their colony of Eritrea, occupying Agordat and Kassala, and constantly intriguing with Ras Mangasha and other chiefs of the northern provinces of Ethiopia. They do not seem to have realized the commanding strength of character of the Negus and the strong hold which he had obtained over the country, and thought that they might gain their ends by setting one province against another, as they had done when they alienated Menelik from Johannes in the war of 1887. But Mangasha was not disposed to be their tool, and, in December, 1894, finding that he was helping the chief of Okulé-Kusai in a "rebellion" against the Italians, General Baratieri made another dash on Adowa, which was again plundered by his native troops. In the following month he again crossed the Mareb River, attacked Mangasha, defeated him at Coatit and Senafé, and annexed the province of Agamé. These decisive victories induced Italy to attempt the conquest of Tigré, and the occupation was gradually pushed further and further south, into barren mountainous country, Adigrat, Makallé, and the Amba Alagi being successively seized and fortified. The Italian boundary was thus rapidly extended towards the south. It now included Agamé and Tigré proper; Adowa, the capital, and Axum, the holy city, were now in the bands of the Italians. But this lengthened line of communications required additional forces to hold and necessitated an increased expenditure, which Italian finances would not allow.

And now the tide turned. Ras Makonen, the Governor of Harar, who had been sent to the front, tried to negotiate with the Italians. Then, finding his repeated efforts at a peaceful arrangement vain, he fell upon and overwhelmed the advance force under Major Toselli at Amba Alagi, and almost annihilated it, the Italians losing 1,300 out of 1,800 men (December 7, 1895). Then he laid seige to Makallé, where General Arimondi had withdrawn with the small remnant of Toselli's force. The siege lasted from Decem-

ber 8 till January 2, 1896, when the garrison had to capitulate from starvation and thirst.

Even now Menelik, who had taken the field with Makonen, and was making a flank movement on Adowa, did not stop his efforts to come to terms with the invaders, but the people of Italy were now crying out for vengeance for the disaster at Amba Alagi. Reinforcements were sent out, and, egged on by the home Government, General Baratieri attacked Menelik's army at Adowa on March 1, 1896, only to be utterly defeated and driven back by overwhelming numbers. It was a terrible disaster, and the losses of the Italians in dead, wounded, and prisoners were enormous. They had over 6,000 killed and 1,400 wounded, and, in addition, some 1,865 were taken prisoners, and 1,000 of their native troops were missing. This was a terrible loss out of a total force of 17,700 Italian and native troops. And the price of victory to the Ethiopians was not less great. Their losses were estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 killed, and 7,000 to 8,000 wounded. Menelik himself, who is not a fighting man, did not take advantage of the victory to advance into Italian territory. Had he done so, it would have gone hard with the Italians in the colony. He had no wish to get further embroiled with a European power whose fighting strength he respected, and it was not long before he had turned away to the southward, bent on an expedition into the Galla country. For his troops were suffering for want of provisions, and in the country of those agriculturists they would replenish their stores by the booty captured from the pagans.

It was now recognized in Italy that any attempt to conquer Ethiopia by force of arms would be as unsuccessful as the diplomatic missions had been, and efforts were concentrated on obtaining the release of the hundreds of Italians who were held as prisoners by the Abyssinians. Dr. Nerazzini followed Menelik to Addis Abeba, and on October 26 a treaty was signed which provided that the treaty of Uchelli was at an end; the independence of Ethiopia

was recognized, and the Italians yielded up the provinces of Tigré and Agamé, still, however, retaining the three provinces north of the rivers Mareb, Belessa, and Muna. Menelik on his part agreed to liberate the prisoners, and this he faithfully carried out, some of them even being sent off to Zeila in honour of the birthday of Queen Margherita, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty.

Thus ended the war with Italy, and with this great victory Menelik soon found himself the cynosure of the European Governments, which had been for years engaged in carving up Africa among themselves. An unexpected power had arisen in this part of the Continent which had been able to offer successful resistance to a European power, and it was felt that Ethiopia was a force to be reckoned with in international politics. Menelik, on his part, blocked in as he was by the Italians on the north and the Dervishes on the north-west, found it more profitable to lead his raiding expeditions into the fertile pagan countries of the south than to engage in a struggle with a European power. Year by year travellers in the countries inhabited by the Somalis and Gallas testify to the ravages caused in those lands by his borders. About 1890 Dedjaz Tessama had led his army westward into the lowlands watered by the Baro River; in 1894 the Gallas on the Webi Shebeli, far to the east, were complaining to Dr. Donaldson Smith of the atrocities perpetrated on them by the Abyssinians, and in the same year they were harrying the interesting Walamo people east of the River Omo. In 1895 they advanced as far as Lugh, on the Jub River, and attacked the Italian post there. When Mr. H. H. S. Cavendish and Lieutenant Andrews reached Lake Stefanie on a sporting expedition in 1896, they saw everywhere evidence of Abyssinian raids, and numbers of the natives had been horribly mutilated. In 1897 an expedition, which was accompanied by M. Léon Darragon, reached nearly to Lake Rudolf, and in the same year Jimma, Kaffa, and Motcha were reconquered after a long rebellion, and the King of Kaffa was brought in chains to

Addis Abeba. Goffa and Malo also, both on the left bank of the Omo, were conquered, and these old historical countries were all effaced.

So, too, in Somaliland, where, in 1891, 1892, and 1893 Major H. G. C. Swayne had come upon traces of Abyssinian aggressions from Harrar, as Dr. Donaldson Smith did in 1894. In 1897 Mr. (now Sir) A. E. Pease, M.P., found the Somalis in the Deghahur Teg in a pitiable condition, after having been looted by the Abyssinians, and Prince Nicolas Ghika, who was on a hunting expedition in the country about the same time, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the raiders. But in this country the Ethiopians were advancing into hot and waterless plains, where they suffered much from thirst and lack of provisions, and in 1897 Ras Makonen is said to have met with a disastrous loss of from 2,000 to 5,000 men on the Webi Shebeli River. Ethiopian dreams of extension gradually gained strength, till they came to regard the whole of Somaliland, except a narrow strip of coast line in the hands of the British and Italians, as Ethiopian territory. In this direction, it will be remembered, the forces of Ras Makonen helped us in our operations against the "Mullah" during the years 1899-1903.\* But in that hot and arid region the Ethiopian commander found the greatest difficulty in obtaining food and water for his army, and these hardy mountaineers were glad to get back from a climatic region to which they were not accustomed.

Further to the west the aggressions of the Ethiopians were encouraged and helped by the French and Russians with a view to forestalling or frustrating English action. Menelik had not thought hitherto of reaching the Nile. Occupied in invading healthy and productive Galla countries, with a climate akin to that in their own country, the Abyssinians had not thought of acquiring those districts of grass and marshes where they would be killed by the heat and fever, and their armies would not find subsistence.

\* See *Broad Views*, September, 1904, pp. 213-226.

Now, however, the provinces of Berta and Wallega were both claimed by Menelik. It was in the Wallega country that the Italian expedition led by Captain Bottègo was murdered by an Abyssinian outpost in 1895. The French had aided in these expeditions by the importation of arms through their port of Jibutil at the head of the Gulf of Aden, and they now began to take an open part in pushing forward the Ethiopian conquests.

On January 27, 1897, M. Lagarde, governor of the French Somali Coast, signed a treaty of commerce with Menelik. French influence now took the place of Italian, and for a time became paramount in Ethiopia, and Lagarde was created Duke of Entotto (the old capital of Shoa). This was largely due to the importation of arms. The French introduced telephones into the country, and organized a postal system and telegraphs, and later a railway monopoly. Frenchmen, too, secured the bulk of the trade. All these advantages to France were bought with a price; M. Lagarde was extravagant in the presents which he took to Menelik—100,000 Gras rifles and 2,000,000 cartridges on his first visit, and similar gifts at other times, which naturally pleased the ambitious Emperor. Lagarde aimed at organizing a column of supplies for the Liotard-Marchand mission, which was approaching the Upper Nile from the French Congo, and to cut short off in the middle the prospective English "Cape to Cairo" connection by an east and west zone of French influence from the Gulf of Guinea to the Gulf of Aden. It was an ambitious project. In 1895 Lagarde sent Captain Clochette with an imposing contingent of Abyssinian troops and several officers to make a reconnaissance towards the Nile, but the latter was left without resources for eighteen months, and waited in vain the means of accomplishing his mission. In 1897 two French expeditions went out to Ethiopia, the object of each being avowedly scientific, though really with a view to co-operate with the Clochette column—one under Prince Henry of Orleans, and the other under M. Bonvalot. But

dissensions arose between the two leaders, and both returned to France. The Marquis de Bonchamps, however, who had been attached to the Bonvalot mission, pushed on with four European companions and a small body of armed Abyssinians, and overtook at Goré the Clochette column, the leader of which was ill and unable to proceed, and shortly afterwards died there (August 24, 1897). After overcoming numerous difficulties and obstacles, De Bonchamps pushed on to the west, making treaties with the native chiefs, which placed them under the "protection" of Ethiopia, and after a terrible journey through the marshes along the left bank of the Baro, he reached the confluence with the Adjuhba, but was then compelled to return in a state of destitution (December 30). He had arrived within 70 miles of the Nile and 150 of Fashoda.

Early in the following year an army of 10,000 men, of whom 4,000 were armed with Gras rifles, was dispatched under Dedjez Tessama on a campaign to the Nile, accompanied by two of De Bonchamps' companions. This expedition reached the Nile at the Sohat confluence on June 22, 1898, and the Ethiopian flag was hoisted on the right bank and the French on the left bank of the main river. It is a curious fact that the French flag was erected by a Cossack, Colonel Artamanoff, the two Frenchmen not venturing to cross the Nile. It was their wish to remain here and await the arrival of Major Marchand, but the Ethiopian mountaineers suffered from the effects of fever brought on in this marshy district, and many of them died. The commander of the advance column therefore decided to return. The Ethiopians really had no love for these expeditions into the unhealthy lowlands, and were not sorry to get back to their own country. The expedition only missed Marchand by less than three weeks. He arrived at the spot on July 9 on his way down the Nile to Fashoda, and had a melancholy satisfaction in saluting the two flags. How he subsequently reached Fashoda, and how the deeply-laid scheme of the French for intercepting the English by a

French line across Africa failed, are now matters of history.\*

The French efforts at extending the influence of Ethiopia were seconded by the Russians, who sent several missions to Menelik's court. One of these, Lieutenant Alexander Boulatovitch, accompanied the army of Ras Walda Giyorgis on an expedition sent in 1898 to occupy the vast Borana country between Lake Rudolf and the Webi Shebeli. The head of the lake was reached on March 26, the tribes on both banks of the Omo being subjugated on the way; and the Ethiopian flag was planted at the mouth of the river. This was evidently done to forestall the expedition under Major Austin which was then pushing northwards from Uganda.

Great preparations were made for a large expedition under joint French and Russian leadership to occupy this territory to the south, south-west, and west of Abyssinia. The chief leaders were Prince Henry of Orleans and Colonel Nicolas de Léontief, a Russian. They arrived in the summer of 1898 accompanied by several French officers and a corps of Senegalese troops (which showed that the expedition had the connivance of the French Government). Their equipment left nothing to be desired, and they had quantities of the most modern breechloaders and several machine guns. But Léontief was accidentally wounded by a gunshot, and had to return home, and Prince Henry soon followed. Menelik had conferred on Léontief the title of Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces of Ethiopia, with the grade of dedjaz (Count). These provinces extended, it was claimed, to two degrees north, though they had only been submitted in the northern part. Léontief, on his recovery from his accident, organized a fresh expedition to occupy the country, with the aid of some French officers and Senegalese sharpshooters. In June, 1899, he started with a force of 2,000 Abyssinians, and on August 21 he

\* See *The Fortnightly Review*, March, 1898, pp. 362-377. "The French on the Nile."

reached Lake Rudolf (Basso Narok), where he constructed a fort on the left bank of the Omo, and sent M. Chedœuvre to plant the French flag even further down the west side of the lake. But the expedition appears to have been little more than a raid, in which the natives were shot down without mercy, and owing to a fearful drought shortly afterwards the advanced posts were withdrawn. When a few months later Dr. Donaldson Smith visited the locality he found the country deserted and the natives suffering from the effects of the raid. Léontief afterwards broke with Menelik and left his service.

Count Léontief's "governorship" provided an opportunity for the English Company promoter. A couple of wild-goose companies were floated with the object of searching for gold and other minerals in the "Equatorial Provinces of Ethiopia." Expeditions were sent out at great expense, but, as Menelik would not recognize the Count's right to make the "concessions," both efforts came to grief. As a matter of fact, the "Equatorial Provinces" were a myth, and existed only in name. There was no kind of effective occupation of the countries, and all that the Abyssinians did was to continue to send raiding expeditions, which extended farther and farther as the different countries were exhausted and depopulated, indiscriminately plundering natives and trading caravans almost down to the southern end of Lake Rudolf, collecting ivory and laying a heavy hand on the flocks and herds, and enslaving the people. Menelik and his government, we are told, disclaimed all responsibility and knowledge of these raids; but the superior chiefs did not keep the smaller chiefs quiet, and the advance continued. The Ethiopians are, like the Turks, very destructive, and soon strip a country bare; and, as these southern districts are occupied chiefly by military bands, the process of exhausting is accomplished with unusual activity, and a new looting ground is soon required. The shadowy right of possession over the unhappy tribes was, however, recognized by the British

Government in the agreement of December 6, 1907, on the frontier of British East Africa.'

As Ethiopia was gradually becoming hemmed in by the occupation of Africa by different European powers, it became necessary to define the frontiers. On the north the Italians had been encroaching until their progress had been stopped by the disaster of Adowa; on the east were the French Somali Coast and British Somaliland, which had been taken over on the withdrawal of the Egyptians; on the south-east Italian Somaliland; on the south British East Africa and Uganda; whilst on the west the Sudan was being recovered from the Mahdists. All alike of the European powers were seizing regions to which they had no moral or even legal right; but even thieves must have a certain code amongst themselves; so it became necessary to settle the bounds of the respective "spheres of interest." That on the side of the French Somali Coast was first settled by M. Lagarde, March 20, 1897, though the treaty appears never to have been published. On May 14 of the same year Mr. Rennell Rodd signed a treaty at Addis Abbeba which determined the frontier of British Somaliland. These treaties did not adopt territorial or even natural physical boundaries, and fixed more or less arbitrary lines, entirely disregarding tribal divisions; so that, for instance, some Somali shepherd tribes, as they followed the grass according to the dry and rainy seasons, would be sometimes on one side of the frontier and sometimes on the other, and therefore subject for purposes of taxation, etc., to two different powers.

The settlement of the frontier on the side of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan required more careful handling; and here the negotiations were ably carried on by Lieutenant (now Sir) John Lane Harrington, who was sent to the court of Menelik in 1898. In September of that year the Anglo-Egyptian forces captured Gedaref; and on December 7 a small body of troops hoisted the British and Egyptian flags by the side of the Ethiopian flag already flying at

Gallabat. During the following years the frontier regions were explored by Majors Austin, Bright, and Gwynn, and on May 15, 1902, the Sudan frontier agreement was signed. British prestige, which had reached a low ebb owing to a breach of faith in regard to the question of Massowah during Menelik's quarrel with Italy, was now again in the ascendant. This was no doubt largely due to the turn which the Fashoda affair had taken, and the British successes in the Sudan, with which Menelik was much impressed.

The frontier of the Italian colony of Eritrea was fixed along the Mareb-Belessa-Muna line on the north, but the eastern boundary with the Asar or Danakil country seems to have been left undetermined. Further away to the south-east the frontier with Italian Somaliland was fixed by the convention of May 16, 1907. The boundaries thus recognized give to Ethiopia an enormous territory, including practically the whole of the great East African plateau (with the exception of the northern outliers still held by Italy), and probably covering a larger area of the African continent than was ever ruled by the predecessors of Menelik, even when their power was at its zenith. For we have no evidence that Ethiopia in its ancient splendour ever extended to the waters of Lake Rudolf, the marshes of the Baro River, or, perhaps, to the Ogaden Somali country. This extension of power has been achieved by Menelik, who, though not himself a warrior, has shown himself an able leader of men and a capable diplomatist and administrator.

His power is no doubt largely due to the fact that he has been able so easily to assimilate the results and benefits of European civilization. It is not only in the ready adoption of modern arms of precision in warfare that he has been so successful; his long intercourse with the Italians and French has shown him the advantages to be derived from modern inventions of a more peaceful kind. In 1879, whilst still King of Shoa only, he sent to Europe

for skilled mechanics. With the aid of M. Lagarde he arranged a regular postal service between Addis Abeba and Harrar; a telephone-line was installed between the capital and Harrar by a Franco-Russian company (1897); and a telegraph to Massowah was constructed by Italians in 1904. At the instigation of M. Chefneux Menelik tried to introduce a coinage. The old Marie-Thérèse dollar had previously been the chief currency; he now had one struck with his own effigy on it. But the effort was not successful, as his conservative people still preferred the Austrian replicas of the old coin of 1780, and his own coins were only accepted at a considerable discount. In 1903 he decided to establish a mint for the coinage of his money. His German enterprise was to the fore, Krupp's branch establishment at Essen securing the contract for all the apparatus. In 1905 he decided on the establishment of a State bank. A company was accordingly promoted, under the auspices of the Bank of Egypt, and in 1906 the Bank of Abyssinia was officially opened by the Emperor at Addis Abeba. Even in the government of his country he has not been above taking a lesson from European nations. In 1907 he issued a decree announcing the constitution of a cabinet on European lines. The document is an interesting one, and is to the following effect:

"The Lion of Judah has prevailed.

"Salutation be to you.

"It is some time since we thought of introducing a European system to our country. You have always indicated (this), and said it would be good if we too would adopt some of the European systems.

"I have now started to appoint a Ministry, and if it is the will of God I will complete it. I inform you that I have appointed the following persons: Affa Negus Nasibu, Fitaurari Habta Giorgis, Privy Seal Gabra Selassi, Bejirond Mulugata, Likamaquas Katama, Nagadras Haila Giorgis; Kantiba Walda Sadik."

Perhaps the greatest of the novelties introduced into Ethiopia is the railway. Though Menelik had never travelled outside of his own dominions, and could not know from his own observation anything about railways, he readily acceded to a proposal to have one constructed in his own country to facilitate communication with the coast, and in 1894 gave a concession for this purpose to M. Alfred Ilg, a Swiss engineer. Ilg had come to Shoa with two other Swiss engineers in 1879, all three from the Polytechnic school at Zurich, sent in response to Menelik's request for mechanics. Having learnt the language of the country, they received orders from the Negus to construct some houses in European style at Entotto; and the Negus was so pleased with these houses that he conferred on Ilg the title of Ras. The Swiss were also employed in the construction of roads and bridges, the last a very important acquisition in a country where in the rainy season the rivers become so flooded as to put an effectual stop to communications, and where the roads previously were nothing more than tracks. The bridge over the Hawash River especially has been of use to travellers to and from the coast. Ilg steadily rose in the royal favour, becoming in 1898 "Betwaddad," or "favourite." He has even been described as Menelik's Prime Minister; but as Ministers in the European sense of the word were unknown in Ethiopia, his position would be more fitly described as that of confidential adviser. The railway concession authorized the formation of an Imperial Ethiopian Railway Company to construct and work a railway from Jibutil to Harrar, to be afterwards extended from Harrar to Entotto (then the capital), and from Entotto to Kassa and the White Nile.

The concession was to last for 99 years from the date of completion of the work; no other company would have power to construct a competing line from the Indian Ocean or Red Sea; the company would have power to levy a duty of 10 per cent. on all merchandise, to be reduced to 5 per cent. when the total reached 2,500,000 francs; and a zone

of 1,000 metres of land was granted to the company along the line.

It was not until August, 1896, that the Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de Fer Éthiopiens was formed in Paris, with a capital of four million francs, and a concession was obtained for the construction of the portion of the railway on the territory of the colony of Obok, or the French Somali Coast, as it was afterwards called. The scheme was received with favour in French official circles as being calculated to make French influence predominant in Ethiopia and to secure for French trade a virtual monopoly of the commerce between Ethiopia and Europe. In October, 1897, work was commenced on the construction of the line, but it proceeded slowly, and it was not until December 17, 1901, that the line was opened to Adagalla, on Ethiopian territory, 201 kilometres from Jibutil, and the end of the following year that the first train reached Addis Harrar, which had been fixed on as the terminus. In consequence of a difficulty in obtaining the necessary capital Menelik had consented to the line terminating for the time at the foot of the mountain on which Harrar stands at Dire Dawa (afterwards called Addis Harrar, or New Harrar), 310 kilometres from Jibutil, instead of at Harrar itself.

The French investor had not shown the enthusiasm for the railway which had been evidenced by the official classes, and it became necessary to appeal to English financiers for aid. Three English joint stock companies, the New African, the Oceana and the New Egyptian, came to the rescue, forming the International Ethiopian Railway Trust and Construction Company, Limited, in June, 1901, with the object of completing the construction of the line. It was hoped by this financial group that a branch line might be built from the port of Zeila in British Somaliland, which was already having its trade taken away by the Jibutil railway and the facilities given by that French port. For the railway was now enabling the French to monopolize the

foreign trade of Southern Ethiopia. There seems no reason to believe that the Emperor Menelik would have objected to this branch line; indeed, he had already begun to feel that whilst the railway would facilitate his importation of arms it would also enable the French to pour troops into his country in case of war. But the scheme fell to the ground owing to the refusal of the British Treasury to assist in any way towards the construction of the branch line which was scarcely needed in the interests of the shareholders, but which was urgently needed in the interest of British trade with Ethiopia. The new Trust and Construction Company took up shares and debentures in the French Company to such an extent that the control seemed likely to pass into British bands. This alarmed the forward party in France, who approached the Government with the result that, on February 6, 1902, the colonial authorities of the French Somali Coast agreed to give the French Company a subvention of 500,000 francs annually for fifty years. This enabled additional capital to be raised in France, and the control of the line accordingly remained in French hands. The work was pushed on and the first section of the line (to Addis Harrar) was completed by December 31, 1902.

But the French Government had reckoned without Menelik. In the agreement of February 6 there was included provision for the acquisition of the line by the French Government under certain circumstances. When this came to the cognizance of the Emperor, he refused to assent to the construction of the second section of the line by a foreign Government, or by a company controlled by a foreign Government. He was, however, desirous that the line should be constructed to his capital without unnecessary delay, and asked the Powers through their representatives at Addis Abeba to agree among themselves on the policy to be adopted. In these negotiations Menelik evidenced his high powers as a diplomatist; but he was ably seconded by Sir John Harrington, who fully realized the disadvantages

of an exclusively French line which would monopolize the trade and ruin that through British Somaliland, besides having a very prejudicial effect on British political interests. But France would not give up its claim, and matters dragged on for three years without anything further being done. Meoelik was impatient, and called the representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia together at Addis Abeba on April 11, 1905, to discuss the railway question, complained that barren discussions were delaying the construction of the line, and declared that if he received from the Powers no proposal placing the various international interests in agreement, he would himself undertake the construction of the railway without soliciting or accepting any co-operation. Still the French Government refused to entertain his proposal to internationalize the line, and affairs dragged on till the summer of 1906, when an agreement was negotiated between Great Britain, France, and Italy, though it was not finally signed until December 13 of that year. Its general purport was to pledge the three Powers to uphold as far as possible the integrity of Ethiopia, and to secure equality of treatment as regards trade, etc., to the subjects of all three. They also agreed to take concerted action to secure the maintenance of what are regarded as the special interests of each of the three nations—e.g., in the case of Great Britain and Egypt, the regulation of the waters of the Nile and its tributaries. It was agreed that the Jibutil railway should be prolonged, by the present or any other French company which might be substituted for it with the consent of the French Government, from Dire Dawa to Addis Abeba, with a branch line to Harrar eventually; but the French Government undertook to endeavour to secure the appointment of a British and an Italian representative on the board of the French company. All railway construction in Ethiopia west of Addis Abeba, so far as foreign assistance is required, shall be under the auspices of Great Britain, while the latter Power reserved the right, conceded by Menelik on August 28, 1904, to

construct a railway from British Somaliland to the Sudanese frontier, after previously coming to an agreement with the other two Powers. Any railway construction with a view to joining Eritrea with the Benadir coast shall, so far as foreign assistance is required, be carried out under the auspices of Italy. This satisfactory agreement having removed the political difficulties, it may be hoped that the railway development in Ethiopia may now proceed apace, but at present matters still proceed slowly in this respect.

From the point of view of trade there can be no doubt that Ethiopia has a great future before it. With excellent natural resources it is at present very imperfectly developed. Exceeding in area the German Empire, it has a population of but nine to eleven millions at the most. Dr. Rosen, who negotiated the German treaty of 1905, gives in the official *Berichte über Handel u. Industrie*, Volume IX., No. 1 (summarized in *The Geographical Journal*, September, 1906, pp. 292-293), an account of the economic condition and resources of the land. The soil is fertile, but cultivation is little developed, and irrigation is practically unknown. In almost all parts of the plateau there is a uniformly excellent climate, fresh mountain air, constantly cool nights, and no malaria, such as render residence under normal conditions possible to any Europeans. What might be made of Ethiopia is exemplified by the flourishing colony of Eritrea. Besides the native population—Abyssinians proper (Semitic), Hamitic Gallas and Somalis, negroes (Shankala) in the south-west, and Falasha (Jews)—there are in Abyssinia Indians, Arabs, Greeks, and Armenians, as also a few Europeans in Addis Abeba and Harrar. Except Harrar, which is of Arabic origin, there are no towns proper, but only collections of straw-thatched huts, with no connecting streets nor shops. Trade is confined to weekly markets. The Saturday market of Addis Abeba is thronged by 30,000 to 50,000 people. But outside the market there is not a shop, and on other days than Saturdays the market-place is empty. With its exuberant meadows and excellent climate, Ethiopia

lends itself to cattle-rearing, which is the most general industry, flesh being the main food, and little as is the care bestowed on them many strikingly fine cattle may be seen. Sheep and goats are everywhere. The land is capable of producing endless wealth of wool, but the actual stock of sheep and goats is very inferior. Next to cattle-rearing comes agriculture. In the higher regions the soil is of extraordinary fertility, yielding, in parts, a treble harvest yearly. But agriculture is in the most primitive stage, and implements in some places are only of wood or stone. Ethiopia is one of the Arcadian lands that may still claim immunity from over-specialization of industry. It has no millers, for its corn is ground between stones at home; no bakers, for its bread is baked at home; no weavers, for its cotton cloth is woven at home; no tailors, for its scanty wardrobe is pieced together at home; no shoemakers, for its people go barefoot; no smiths, for its horses go unshod.

The country contains mineral wealth, gold having been worked in some of the western provinces for many generations, and iron-working was carried on in Shoa at the time of Harris's mission in 1841. Coal, too, has been found in different localities. But Menelik is not favourable to giving mining concessions; he and his counsellors desire rather to develop the agricultural wealth of the country, and they are fully alive to the possibilities of trade with foreign countries. In this trade it is strange that Great Britain has so far had but a small part. Though Zeila was long the port through which merchandise was shipped from Southern Ethiopia and kept up a constant intercourse by caravans and camels, it has now had this traffic diverted from it by the railway to the French port of Jibutil. Whilst Menelik was King of Shoa only, before he had united the whole of Ethiopia under his sway in 1889, the French carried on commercial relations with the country, and this has been encouraged by the presence of an official representative of the French Government in the person of M. Lagarde. Other nations, too, have been endeavouring to gain a footing. Efforts

have been made to open up trade with Russia; in 1903 Mr. Robert P. Skinner paid a flying visit to Addis Aheha on behalf of the United States of America, only staying there long enough to conclude a commercial treaty by which America secures "most favoured nation" terms; 1905 saw an Austrian mission to Kaffa on behalf of Austrian trade, a Belgian consul appointed at Addis Aheha, and the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Germany and establishment of a German Consulate. Mr. Skinner reported that there were no English merchants in Ethiopia, but there were hundreds of Frenchmen scattered over the country. Many of the natives had a smattering of French, and servants seemed to pick it up more readily than they did English. Mr. William MacMillan, in an interview reported in *The Egyptian Gazette*, October 21, 1903, said the greater part of the trade of Ethiopia was already in American hands. The principal import was white cotton sheeting, which every Abyssinian wears, all of which came from the United States. It is officially known as "Amerikani." Why should not our Manchester mills compete in this? It would seem that something might be done to open up fresh avenues for British trade in this direction; but until a branch of the railway is made to Zeila or Berbera, it will be much handicapped by imposts on the Jihutil Railway. There should, too, be an opening for many British subjects in a country where almost every kind of culture, from horse-breeding to coffee-growing, can be pursued under excellent conditions.

On the side of the Sudan an attempt has been made to open up a trade-route by Mr. W. N. MacMillan, an American, who, in 1903, tried to navigate the Blue Nile. He took from the coast four steel boats, made in portable sections, and a specially-built steel steamer, sent from England, left Khartoum to meet him; but, on putting the boats together, and launching them on the river, they were bumped about to such an extent in the rapids descending from the Abyssinian mountains that they were wrecked,

two boats and more than half the provisions going to the bottom, and the occupants having to save their lives by swimming. Although this first attempt was so disastrous, Mr. MacMillan by no means despaired of ultimate success. In the autumn of the same year he organized another attempt in the reverse direction. Starting from Khartoum in January, 1904, he ascended the Sohat and Baro Rivers in boats as far as Gambela, at the foot of the Ethiopian plateau, apparently somewhat higher than the point reached by Marchand in the *Faidherbe*. His party included Sir John Harrington and several other whites, including Mrs. MacMillan. So far it does not appear whether any practical result has followed these efforts. The Itang trading station, on the upper Baro, which Menelik agreed to lease to the British Government in the treaty of May 15, 1902, turned out to be a failure, but in 1905 Captain Wilson opened a market at Pinkio, farther up the river.

In one way and another Ethiopia is rapidly coming to the front as a great power under the rule of its remarkable Emperor. Menelik has shown himself a man of great power and genius. He has described himself as a man of peace who has several times been compelled to fight, and it is in the realms of peaceful development and diplomacy that he principally shines. He has great powers of organization, is careful, crafty, and persevering, and is said to believe in his own destiny. He has welded the various kingdoms and provinces of Ethiopia together into a united nation, a work which, it is true, was prepared for him by the rule of the two remarkable Emperors who preceded him, Theodoros and Johannes, though himself greater and more capable than either of these. But Menelik is getting on in years; the strenuous life which he has lived must tell on a man of sixty-six or sixty-seven, and it is not unnatural that concern is expressed at the possible turn of affairs in the event of his death. He has no son, and has adopted as his heir his grandson, Lidj Eyasu, son of his daughter, Waizaro Shoa Röggä, and Ras Michael, a man who long

exercised considerable influence in Ethiopian affairs. Lidj Eyasu is a lad of about thirteen years of age, and as his mother, who would doubtless become regent during his minority, is said to have anti-foreign proclivities, the immediate outlook is by no means clear.

#### SOME RECENT WORKS ON ETHIOPIA.

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HAYES, ARTHUR J.: "The Source of the Blue Nile." London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1905.  
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## A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF SIKHIM, LHASA, AND PART OF TIBET.\*

By J. C. WHITE, C.I.E.

THE hill State of Sikkim lies nearly due north of Calcutta, in the heart of the Himalayas. Its present area covers about 2,400 square miles, although formerly the boundaries extended much farther, and included the Limboo country on the west and the Chumbi Valley on the east.

The aboriginal inhabitants are the Lepchas, a most interesting people, whose origin is obscure, though it is thought they migrated to their present abode along the foot of the Himalayas from the east, and not from Tibet, across this range. They are a distinct race, with a language, both spoken and written, of their own, and with very marked characteristics. Their features are not Mongolian, and in place of the flat noses and high cheek-bones are, in many cases, distinctly aquiline. They are great naturalists; have their own names for all trees, plants, butterflies, and insects; and in religion are, nominally, Buddhists, although they worship all manner of spirits, generally those connected with Nature, such as the spirit of the snow, of the mountain peaks, of rivers and forests, etc., beliefs induced by the grandeur and majesty of the scenes which surround them in their magnificent forests and mountains, irresistible torrents, glaciers, and snows,

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

often taking on weird and spectral shapes through the dreary mists and gloom of the forests. They are a most lovable people, and, as might be expected, have a large and interesting folklore. Their great fault is their thirstlessness, which is so great that, rather than provide for a bad year, they prefer, should the crops fail, to go into the jungles and forests to pick up a precarious livelihood on roots and berries, or what they can snare in the shape of bird and beast.

They inhabit the lower and middle heights, their houses very seldom being found higher than 5,000 feet, and are situated, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest in inaccessible valleys.

The next race to enter Sikkim was the Tibetan, the first coming from the ancient monasteries of Sakhyia and Ralung. They settled in the country, dominated the more placid and effeminate Lepchas, and became the ruling race, founded the present line of rulers and aristocracy, and although intermarriage took place occasionally with the Lepchas, they, as a rule, married amongst themselves, or sought wives from Tibet.

They profess the Buddhist religion, and look to Lhasa for spiritual guidance.

A few of the same stock settled in the Chumhi Valley, and from there migrated into Sikkim.

They are not good agriculturists, but prefer to trade or to keep large herds of cattle or yaks, while their only permanent cultivation consists of small patches round their houses, in which they grow wheat, barley, and a few vegetables.

Later, there was a very large immigration of Paharias, or hillmen, all professing some form of Hinduism, from the congested districts of Nepal, and they now form three-fourths of the entire population.

They are a very industrious people and excellent agriculturists, good tenants, and have settled down quietly amongst their Buddhist neighbours, although there was considerable

friction at first owing to the different customs of each race. One of the most prolific causes of trouble was that the Lepcha and Bhutia fenced in their cultivation, and let their cattle roam untended, whereas the Paharia never fenced in his fields, but tended his cattle. The consequence was that the latter's crops were always being damaged by cattle.

The Paharias, a much more prolific and thrifty people, must eventually overrun the whole country, and they are migrating east along the foot hills into Bhutan, where they already form a coosiderable colony.

The physical features of the country are quite exceptional. Sikkim, lying as it does in the line of the South West Monsoon, receives a very large rainfall varying from 300 inches on the outlying hills above the plains, to 6 inches or less in the higher valleys beyond the snows when most of the moisture has been precipitated. The result of this distribution of the rainfall, combined with the difference of altitude of the mountaiios, is the varied and beautiful scenery to be found in Sikkim, which is unrivalled elsewhere in the world. The lower and middle valleys and hills are densely and richly clothed with vegetation, low down of a subtropical nature, amoogst which palms, tree ferns, canes, and gigantic creepers abound, gradually changiog to more temperate with oaks and chestnuts; and finally, as the mountaiios are ascended, to pioes, larch, and juniper, eoding in dwarf rhododeodron at 13,000 to 14,000 feet in the outer and wetter hills, and birch where the rainfall is less abundant.

The lower valleys, many of which are not more than 500 feet above mean sea level, are hot and steamy during the rains, which last from April to October, while the middle heights are cool, although the atmosphere during these months is almost always at saturation point, and a dry climate is only reached in the high valleys amongst or beyond the snows.

With heights varying as they do from 500 feet to over

28,000 with immensely deep and narrow valleys, the scenery is magnificent. Owing to the moisture in the atmosphere, the middle and far distance is always seen through the softest and most ethereal blue, deepening in the shadows to indigo, which at the same time does not take away from the clearness, and this combined with the richness of colouring in the forests, the wonderful brilliance of the snows, the ever varying cloud and mist, shadow and sunshine, must be seen to be appreciated, and is beyond my powers of description.

The slides shown gave only a very inadequate idea of the beauty of the scene, as no picture can portray the beauty of the snows, which appear to be almost floating in the atmosphere, and it is hardly to be wondered that the people worship them. The series of Sikhim views commenced at the Teesta Bridge and thence through that country up the higher valleys and to the snows. Amongst them were an interesting procession of Lamas at the Tumlong Monastery, the beautiful glacier from which the River Teesta flows, and the superb peaks of Siniolchu and Kinchinjunga.

Crossing over from Sikhim to Khamba Jong in Tibet, immediately the high snow ranges are passed, the scene changes wonderfully, the hills become more rounded and less precipitous, and the spaces between the ranges are wide and open; the rainfall almost ceases, and there is practically no vegetation, only some scanty grass.

The views are more extended, and to the south are bounded by an endless panorama of the high snowy range, commencing in the east with Chomolhari, in Bhutan, Kinchenjau, Chumiomo, Kinchinjunga (28,156 feet high), and to the east Eyerest (29,001 feet high) and its attendant peaks in Nepal.

The geological strata have also changed, and leaving behind the gneiss and granite, of which the higher snow peaks are formed, we have here limestone and shales; in both of which fossils are found, showing that these

elevated plateaux and mountains were once formed under the sea.

Although there is practically no vegetation at Khamba Jong, and the elevation is above that of the top of Mont Blanc, barley ripens on irrigated patches with a south exposure, and in an enclosure near the fort there are two or three very old willow-trees, and on some sand hills, a few miles to the west, I found juniper trees, quite 15 feet high, which shows what power the sun has at these elevations, when the situation is favourable and sheltered from the north.

Amongst the limestone hills there are some magnificent sites for castles, many of which have been made use of by the Tibetans, the one at Kbamba Jong dominating the country for miles.

A slide of Everest, the highest mountain in the world, was taken from Khamba Jong, with a telephoto lens, the distance being approximately ninety-one miles. Also an interesting group of nuns from the Tatshang Nunnery, which is situated some twenty miles to the east of Khamba Jong, in a desolate spot, from which not a single human habitation is visible across the wind-swept plains. The nuns seemed happy and contented, spent most of their time in prayer that is in turning prayer-wheels; they were extremely dirty, and must lead, to our ideas, a most dismal existence.

To continue on to Lhasa; from Khamba Jong there are several routes to Sbigatse or Gyantse, all of which have been traversed. I myself followed one to Gyantse. There is also an easy route to the Kala Tsho, where the route from Chumbi by which the Lbasa Expedition travelled is joined, and it is of the Chumbi route I am showing some slides.

I have also travelled by a route from Eastern Bhutan to Gyantse.

The whole of this country immediately to the north of the snows is of the same character with more rounded hills, wide valleys, broad plains, and numerous lakes, no trees, and very little rainfall.

Formerly the rainfall in this district must have been very much greater, and this is shown by the old lake shores high above the present levels of the lakes, the diminished glaciers, and the very large number of deserted villages. These the inhabitants have had to leave, as the rainfall decreased, and there was insufficient pasturage for their flocks of sheep and herds of yaks, and although there is still enough for a very considerable number, the deserted houses in every direction show how prosperous these valleys must have been formerly. As the country is penetrated farther and the central range of the Himalayas is entered, the very dry zone is passed, and the moisture in the air which has escaped being precipitated by the snows again forms, and the rainfall is heavier. The valleys are again narrower and cultivation more prevalent, and on reaching the Gyantse Valley, at an elevation of about 13,000 feet, the crops raised are magnificent, barley, wheat, peas, and broad beans, growing luxuriantly in fields which are irrigated by a well-planned system of canals and small channels, and trees, such as poplar and willow, abound round every homestead.

The country on to Lhasa has the same characteristics—all the low valleys being extensively irrigated where practicable, and splendid crops raised; but the country generally is a poor one, as the crops grow only in the valleys, the mountains being very bare and barren.

The strata vary from time to time—slate and limestone outcrops, as well as shales and granite intrusions, being met with.

The Valley of Lhasa itself at over 12,000 feet is well cultivated, and there are many groves of trees. The climate during the summer is perfect.

Time will not allow me to go fully into anything like a detailed account of such a country as Tibet or its people, and I will therefore conclude by giving a short account of the town of Lhasa itself.

The town is situated in the broad valley of the Kyi Cbu

at an elevation of 12,600 feet. The town is not a large one, but is well built in two-storied houses of granite with flat roofs. The streets are dirty, and often, in summer, flooded from the overflow of the Kyi Chu.

The whole town is dominated by the Delai Lama's Palace, the Potala, a most imposing building, built on an outcrop of rock—in fact, it dominates the whole situation, its gilded roofs being visible for miles in all directions, shining in the bright sunshine.

It is most solidly built of granite, with many flights of steps leading to its different temples and sections.

It is for the most part of a dull white colour, with the temples painted a deep madder red, the whole surmounted by numerous gilded roofs. The effect of the buildings as a whole is very grand, and the architectural effect is exceedingly pleasing. The slides show these buildings from many aspects. There are many other temples in the town, which, although of great interest internally, are of no architectural beauty.

Tibet is a fascinating country, as every traveller who has been there will admit, and, although I have not time to do more than give a very faint outline of a very small portion of it, I hope my views will have conveyed some slight idea of its features and will have aroused some interest; and I only wish that it had not been closed, and hope that, in the near future, it may again be opened, as it is a country full of possibilities both for exploration and sport.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the East India Association, was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, December 18, 1911, when a paper, entitled "A Short Description of Sikkim, Lhasa, and Part of Tibet," was read by John Claude White, Esq., C.I.E., illustrated with limelight lantern views. Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., I.C.S., took the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James and Lady Bourdillon, Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilcox, K.C.S.I., Sir Horatio and Lady Shephard, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.C., M.P., Sir Leslie C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Lady Fulton, Mrs. R. Byng Campbell, Miss Campbell, Miss Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mr. A. H. Carroux, Miss Laing, Miss Gill, Mrs. Matthew, Mrs. Finucane, Mr. Kitchener, Mr. Hay, Mr. W. Dorrao, Mrs. Davidson, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Blandy, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Thomas Menezes, Mr. T. H. Swindelle, Dr. and Mrs. Nundi, Mr. Arnold Nundi, Mrs. Arnold, Mrs. Wickham, Mr. H. F. Brady, Mr. B. Brenan, Mr. T. P. Chandanani, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. H. Bridgman, Mrs. Goldney, Mr. H. R. James, Mr. F. W. Garley, Mr. Rose, Mr. G. G. Dey, Mr. L. K. Tao, Miss F. Winterbotham, Mr. H. Winterbotham, Mrs. Dean, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Barber, Mr. R. J. M. Mathew, Mr. Duchesne, Mrs. Mason, Miss Mason, Mrs. Grose, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I must make a few preliminary remarks by way of introducing the lecturer, Mr. Claude White, to you. I am afraid he is a stranger to most of you present to-night, but he is not a stranger to me; I have had the pleasure of his acquaintance for about forty years. When I first made his acquaintance, he was employed as an engineer in the Government service, and he was afterwards transferred to Darjeeling in 1881. In the year 1888 the Tibetans invaded Sikkim, and took possession of the country, and got the Rajah completely under their influence. Of course, there was a woman in the case. I believe the mother of the present Rajah was a Tibetan lady, and she got such influence over the then Maharajah of Sikkim, that she brought a lot of her own countrymen into the country, and they completely took it into their

own hands. Then the British Government sent an expedition to turn them out, and Mr. White was deputed as the political officer to the expedition. After the expedition was over, he remained at Sikhim, and he ruled Sikhim for about twenty-one years, residing there, of course. In these parts of the world, you know, there is always a titular and a *de facto* ruler; thus in Tibet, for instance, about which we are going to hear to-night, there was the titular ruler, the Tashi Lama, and then the Dalai Lama. In Bhutan we have the Deb Rajah, and the Dharm Rajah; and in Nepal we have the Maharajah, but the real ruler of Nepal is the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. After the expedition to Sikhim was over, we had the Maharajah, and Mr. White, who was the *de facto* ruler of the country, and he administered it for twenty-one years. He did more: he collected the taxes, and spent them (laughter); he made the roads; he administered justice; he was the head of the police, and he would have been the Commander-in-Chief if there had been an army; but I do not think there was an army there. However, Mr. White was a most benevolent despot; he ruled the country so tactfully that the Sikhimese took a great fancy to him, and even the Bhutanese became so fond of him that they invited him to visit their country, which he did on several occasions. The result of those visits was that he wrote a very interesting book, called "Sikhim and Bhutan: or Twenty-one Years on the North-East Frontier." It is a most charming book, and it is beautifully illustrated with photographs.

In 1903-4 occurred one of the great events in Mr. White's life; he went to Lhasa, and he is one of the few Europeans who have been to Lhasa. He accompanied the expedition of General Macdonald and Sir Francis Younghusband as one of the Commissioners, and the result of that journey is the beautiful photographic slides that you will have the pleasure of seeing to-night. Mr. White is a most skilful photographer; few professional photographers equal him and none surpass him, as, I think, you will agree with me when you have seen his photographs to-night.

I will not say more just now, but will content myself with calling upon Mr. White to deliver his lecture.

The LECTURER: I have only time to give you a very short account of Sikhim, and a small part of Tibet. (Lecture followed.)

The LECTURER: I hope I have shown you enough of Tibet to make some of you wish to go there. It is a most fascinating country, both for travel and for sport, and I only hope that the Government will see their way to opening up the country again. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think you will see that I have not exaggerated Mr. White's skill as a photographer. (Hear, hear.) I think you will agree with me that we have had a very interesting and instructive hour; you have seen photographs to-night which have been seen by very few, and you have now got an idea of Lhasa which, I think, is possessed by very few people in the world.

I have been invited by the Honorary Secretary to make a few remarks, and I do so with some diffidence, but to my mind the most interesting part of the lecture—apart from the slides—is that last passage in Mr. White's lecture

in which he says that he regrets this interesting country has been closed, and he hopes it will be opened up again. I should like to say a few words about the closing of Lhasa, after the expenditure of so much time and money and life in the expedition to Tibet. This expedition took place in 1903-4, and I suppose it was undertaken with a view to opening up the country and letting Europeans see what it was like, and for the purpose of opening up trade with Tibet. After we had gone up to Lhasa, and come back again, there was an indemnity imposed on the Tibetans, and we seized the Chumbi Valley and held it, as it was proposed that the Tibetans should pay an indemnity of 75 lakhs of rupees, and as there was no immediate prospect of their paying the same. Well, the Chinese then came in and claimed suzerainty over Tibet, but they never exercised it practically and they made no attempt to oppose our expedition, but when we came back, still holding on to the Chumbi Valley, the Chinese sent an Ambassador to Calcutta, whose name is Tong-Shao-Yi; you must all have seen his name in the papers very much of late. He is a great friend of the Premier, Yuan Shao Ki, and he is now engaged in making, or endeavouring to make, peace with the Chinese rebels. He is a very clever man : I made his acquaintance in Calcutta, and I found him a most agreeable person. He has been for a long time in America ; he was there for twelve years, and he learned the English language very well, and then came over to Calcutta, and, as far as I could see, he was a very skilful diplomat. However, as long as Lord Curzon was Viceroy of India he made no progress with his negotiations, but as soon as Lord Curzon went away, the indemnity was reduced from 75 lakhs to 3, and the Chinese immediately paid up that 3 lakhs of rupees (£20,000) and took over Tibet. Therefore, they reaped the whole of the benefit of the expedition upon which we had spent so much money, and they practically annexed the country ; not only that, but they began to spread themselves towards Assam, coming down into the Mishmi country. Their soldiers have been seen near our frontier. The Dalai Lama was in great danger, and he fled for his life ; the Chinese soldiers pursued him, and they only just missed catching him, but he managed to cross over into Darjeeling, and there, of course, he was safe, and we treated him hospitably. We engaged the best apartments in the Grand Hotel for him, and kept him there for some time. Then he came to Calcutta, and had several interviews with the Government, and tried to get the Government of India to reinstate him at Lhasa, but he was unable to prevail upon them to do so. Now he is back in Darjeeling, and he has been very hospitably treated there ; we have given him a residence and an allowance to meet his expenses, and there he is remaining.

Well, now a new situation has arisen in Tibet, only within the last three or four weeks. You know that China is in revolt, and the Chinese soldiers at Lhasa have also followed the prevailing fashion ; they have mutilated, and they have killed their General, whose name was Chao-erb-Feng. The Amban is also in great danger of losing his head, in fact I do not know whether or not he has lost it yet, but the question now is, What has got to be done, and what is going to be the Government of Lhasa in the future ? I see an article in the *Calcutta Englishman*, which says that the people of

India do not know what the soldiers—the revolutionaries—are going to do, whether they will set up an administration of their own, or go away and abandon the country, which they do not like at all. But now the opportunity seems to me to have arisen, in which the Dalai Lama may again safely return to his country. It would be very much to the advantage of England, and India, if the Dalai Lama were to go back to Lhasa ; I am sure he will be very favourably disposed to the English, if he gets back to his own country, and he cannot fail to be welcomed by the Tibetans, who all hate the Chinese. He would be received with open arms by all the people in Tibet, with perhaps one exception, the monks of the Debong Monastery—10,700 in number—who are his enemies. However, we do not know what is going to take place, but it seems to me to be the policy of England, if I may say so, to establish Tibet as a sort of buffer state between China and British India, in the same way as Afghanistan is a buffer state on the North-west Frontier.

I am afraid it is a very difficult thing to induce the British public to take any interest even in such a beautiful country as Tibet is. They seem to take no interest in Imperial questions at the present time ; they are more interested in such questions as servants' taxes, and the licking of stamps (laughter) and suffragettes ; they do not care about the Imperial interests of the country. The people of England are more devoted to sports, football and cricket, and so on. As for the middle classes, they seem to have no object whatever in life except the playing of golf, and in that they live and move, and have their being—they think of little else. I heard the other night some satirical lines, which reproached the English for their lack of devotion ; they are very short, and, if you will allow me, I will repeat them :

"I was playing golf the day  
That the Germans landed :  
All our men had gone away,  
And all our ships had stranded,  
And the thought of England's shame  
Almost put me off my game!"

(Laughter.)

To return to our subject, I would be glad if someone would take up this question of our relations with Tibet and China. I am afraid Lord Curzon is too much occupied, and perhaps he has little time to think of Tibet, although I cannot help believing that he has not forgotten the reversal of his policy there. There are other gentlemen, however, who might do something ; there is Sir Francis Younghusband, but he seems to have retired from public life ; then there is Colonel Yate, sitting over there, he might do a very great deal if he liked, only I am afraid his thoughts are more in the direction of Persia and Baluchistan, than with the North-east frontier, but I hope he will, now that he has some little leisure owing to the closure of Parliament, consider this important question, and try to promote the policy which I am advocating—a policy which is a very simple one—and I hope, also, you ladies and gentlemen here will do your best to promote it ; it is the policy of "Tibet for the Tibetans." (Hear, hear.)

I have now to invite any gentleman who would like to make any remarks.

**COLONEL YATE:** Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we all owe a very great debt of gratitude to our Chairman for the words he has just spoken. He has brought forward one of the most important questions that lies before England, and before India especially; a question which seems to have become dormant, may I say, during the last few years, and a question which, I think, this country has, to a certain extent, lost sight of, but it has now come up again. I think it was the greatest mistake this country ever made when they gave up the Chumbi Valley; that valley should have been held by us, and we could not have had a better buffer state than Tibet, to guard our frontier on that side. The handing over of Tibet to Chios for the miserable sum of £20,000 was a tremendous mistake made by our Government, and it is one, I am afraid, that we may not have the chance of altering. However, it seems, as Sir Robert Fulton has said, that there may be a prospect of the question cropping up again. We do not know what the present revolution in China will lead to, or how it will alter the status of that country, but I can only say that if the Government of this country is wise, and if they do get the opportunity, they ought to seize it at once, and try to put Tibet again into the position of an independent buffer state, under the Dalai Lama if possible, and free it from Chinese government. The people there hate the Chinese; the Chinese are not at all welcome in Tibet, and I feel sure that if they retire, and the people of Tibet recover their independence, we shall have a much greater peace and prosperity on that part of the frontier than we have at the present moment.

(Hear, hear.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I have great pleasure in calling upon Sir James Bourdillon to move a vote of thanks to our lecturer, Mr. White.

**SIR JAMES BOURDILLON:** When our indefatigable Secretary, Dr. Pollen, asks us to do anything, we have to do it; I understand the Chairman was asked to say a few words, and he has done so with great effect. My business is to ask you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. White for his lecture, and to Sir Robert Fulton for presiding to-night. I do this with great pleasure for two reasons: In the first place, they are both old friends of mine. I knew them both during almost the whole of my service in India. Secondly, I am one of those fortunate persons who have seen a great deal of the beautiful scenery which Mr. White has shown to us in Sikkim. I never crossed the frontier, but if any evidence is required in support of the accuracy and authenticity of his picture I can give that evidence not only as an observer of nature, but also in a humble way, as a follower in his footsteps as a photographer. In his lecture it seems to me there were two omissions; one is that Mr. White has told us so very little about himself and the great share he had in the pacification and settlement of those countries. However, I am glad to see that Sir Robert Fulton has told us a great deal about him, and I should like to take this opportunity of crossing his t's and dotting his i's. Mr. White did for Sikkim what many of our Empire-builders are doing at this moment all over the world. He built up this little frontier territory; he civilized and developed it until it became prosperous, well-ordered, and well-administered, instead of being

a small, poor, savage, barbarous State on the borders of our Empire. More than that, going on into Bhutan and Tibet, Mr. White discharged a very useful function. We all know that there is always one indispensable person in every expedition, the man with the oil-can, the man who oils the machinery, and prevents friction ; it is a well-known secret that Mr. White was the man who discharged that useful and important function.

The second omission in this lecture is that we have had so very little about Bhutan. I understood when I came that we were to have a lecture on Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet. Mr. White knows more about Bhutan than any other Englishman living, and in asking you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to both the Lecturer and our Chairman, I hope you will support me in saying that we hope Mr. White will, before long, supply that omission, and will give us another delightful lecture, this time on Bhutan. (Hear, hear).

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL : We have had a most interesting lecture, and a most fascinating series of photographs from Mr. White to-night, and we are extremely indebted to him for the lecture he has favoured us with. We have also had some most pertinent and suggestive observations from our Chairman, who, I am glad to see, has been able to take the chair this evening. I beg to second the vote of thanks.

(The vote of thanks was carried amidst cheers.)

THE LECTURER : Ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank Sir Robert Fulton and Sir James Bourdillon for all the kind things they have said about me. I should like to say a good deal on what Sir Robert has mentioned in connection with Tibet, but as I feel very deeply on the subject I think I had better hold my tongue. I thank you all for the kind reception of what I have shown to you to-night. (Loud applause).

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, January 31, 1911, a paper by Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., on "Indian Home Rule," was read by Mr. J. B. Pennington, I.O.S. (retired). Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present: Sir William Plowden, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Maneherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Patel, Mr. J. D. Westbrook, Mr. M. Y. Khan, Mr. D. Appa Rao, Mr. Khurdad Rustomjee, Mr. B. G. Pahajuey, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. K. P. Sinor, Mr. S. M. Mehta, Mr. V. Newman, Miss Chapman Hand, Mrs. White, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mrs. Nickson, Mr. B. B. Kanga, Dr. Bhabba, Mr. M. K. Hakhan, Mr. J. N. Pari, Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Bhisey, Mr. M. Asbras Ali Khan, Mr. T. W. Moule, Mr. A. Harvey, Thakur Shri Jestrasingji Seesodia, Mr. Sundara Raja, Mr. F. C. Carr, Mrs. Christie, Mr. W. Corfield, Mr. A. Mittra, Mr. N. Pal, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Garley, Mr. F. K. Khilnani, Mr. H. A. Talekerkar, Mr. T. P. Chandanani, Mr. and Mrs. Saklatvala, Mr. A. L. Cotton, Mr. F. H. Brown, Colonel A. M. Murray, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. V. Gabriel, Mr. J. R. Hood, Mr. H. M. Kisch, Mr. C. S. Rao, Mr. R. Bwodhun, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mr. S. S. Saraf, Mr. Culling Carr-Gomm, Mr. F. Grubb, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. M. R. Tambe, Mr. K. S. Subhedar, Mr. A. M. Bhinji, Mr. S. N. Bose, Mr. P. Bose, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. A. H. Carroux, Captain T. Smithies Taylor, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. W. Douglas, Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., Mr. F. S. Mirza, Miss Campbell, Miss Robertson, Mr. L. G. B. Greening, Mr. A. F. Woodburn, Mr. C. J. Weir, Mr. H. Hastings, Mr. G. M. Gregory, Mrs. Grose, Dr. Durham, Mrs. Furnell, Mrs. Bailey, Mr. Young, Mrs. Davidson, Surgeon-General Evatt, and Dr. John Pollien, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, Sir Job Rees has been announced to take the chair, but unfortunately he is engaged, although he

hopes to be here presently. Meanwhile, Sir Arundel Arundel, one of our Vice-Chairmen, has kindly consented to take the chair.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDRL : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry that Sir John Rees is not able to be here at the opening of the meeting; I hope he will be here shortly, so as to relieve me from the responsibility of the chair. With regard to the paper itself I may perhaps remark that it is written by a gentleman who is an octogenarian, and is about to be read by a septuagenarian. Possibly there may be considerable difference of opinion on some of the matters expressed, but I hope that we shall be able to listen with tolerance and courtesy to the views expressed, even if we may not entirely agree with them. With these few introductory remarks I will ask Mr. Pennington to read the paper.

MR. PENNINGTON : First of all I ought, perhaps, to make it quite clear that I am only the reader of this paper, and not necessarily in agreement with all the views expressed in it; and also I might say that the paper is largely historical, and not really very controversial, being chiefly concerned with the difficulties in the way of anything like immediate Home Rule in India. Mr. Keene does not at all mean that some form of Home Rule will never be possible, but considering how long it has taken us to develop such semblance of self-government as we possess in this country, one cannot wonder if men so far advanced in years as Mr. Keene, or even comparative juveniles like Lord Morley and myself, do not expect to see it in our day, and prefer to consider rather how the present administration can be gradually improved and made more and more truly representative.

(The paper was then read.)

SIR J. D. REES (who was received with applause) said : Ladies and gentlemen, first of all may I apologize for having been late, which was the result of some incompatibility of temper between the City and the West End, and business and pleasure, which kept me from being here to fulfil my engagement; but I think you must be sorry that I have arrived, for I shall be displacing Sir Arundel Arundel, who can better occupy this position than I can myself.

As Mr. Pennington kindly sent me a copy of the paper, I have not really suffered by being absent during the reading of it. It is usual for the Chairman on these occasions to commence the discussion by making a few remarks. That is one of the penalties of the position, because it is far more interesting and far more amusing to come on after other people have spoken, as they provide you with the text and something to criticize, or something to disagree or agree with, which is far more interesting than merely commencing a discussion; but as I am in this position—which I am proud to occupy—may I say that when Mr. Keene states that one quarter of the entire population of India are Moslems he makes a statement that I presume is approximately correct, but when he says that their ancestors were the ruling class in most parts of the Peninsula for many hundreds of years he makes a statement, I think, that is unsupportable by fact. As I understand, it is by no means the case. The Moslems who belonged to the ruling class were comparatively few, and possibly are now; the Moslems in Eastern Bengal, for instance, never belonged to the ruling

class. They were converted Hindoos, and had not the sympathies and the traditions of the Mohammedans. If I am right, that fact has a most important bearing on the change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Again, in the South of India certainly very large numbers of Mohammedans there—nine out of ten—are converted Hindoos, and they never were people whose ancestors were the ruling class in any part of the Peninsula. I believe in that respect—and I shall be glad if someone will correct me if I am wrong—the writer makes a statement which is hardly sustainable in fact. Nor can I follow his reference to the negro, because, if that is meant to be a parallel in any way, those of us who have seen the natives of Africa and the natives of India know that, while both are admirable, there is no kind of resemblance between them. There is hardly any race in India—not the lowest in the scale of civilization nor the rudest of jungle tribes—which bears any resemblance to the natives of Africa, and I think the use of this image as a parallel, if it is meant to be one, introduces an element which is better absent from any such comparison. (Hear, bear.) Another statement Mr. Keene makes is when he speaks of races very varied in blood and traditions which have never shown themselves in any case capable of managing their own affairs. That is a statement made of the races of India in general. I demur to that; I do not think it can be said that the different races of India have shown themselves to be incapable of managing their own affairs. The fact is that no one of them until we came was ever strong enough to impose on the country in general that peace which gave any race an opportunity of managing its own affairs. That has been our function, but I believe that many of the Indian races are very well capable of dealing with their own affairs. (Hear, bear.) That fact has a material bearing on the question of how far Indian Home Rule is possible.

Then Mr. Keene, very rightly I think, says that municipal government was looked upon by those who received it as a special form of oppression; I am under the impression—subject to correction—that they still dislike it, and that no Indian taxes are more unpopular than those compulsorily levied for sanitation purposes. The contrary is often asserted, but I believe that to be the case, and I think that Mr. Keene makes a very strong point in regard to the unreadiness of the country for local government when he makes that, as I think, absolutely indisputable statement.

It would be dangerous to refer to Lord Randolph Churchill's condemnation of Lord Ripon, because polities, as we know, are entirely taboo on these occasions, and if one was to quote Lord Randolph's speech (Mr. Pennington: This is simply historical fact)—I am reminded by Mr. Pennington that this is only history (laughter); but I know something of the use made of historical quotations—they are apt to give rise to all the angry passions of the present day, and it would be difficult to quote the speech without appearing in some way to agree with it. Mr. Keene goes on to say also that the Hindoos have not shown that feeling of justice and impartiality towards the Mohammedans which would be a necessary preliminary to proving themselves fit for the grant of self-government. He says that they would like to hold their lands rent-free, to repudiate the

home charges and to molest their fellow Moslem countrymen. If that were so, and if we were to eliminate the one word "Moslem" from that sentence, it might stand for the Irish Home Rulers at the present moment. Therefore I do not think he makes a very strong charge against the Hindus in saying that, though I hope and believe that it is not the case that they would repudiate the home charges, which are really, and must be acknowledged by all fair-minded men to be, merely a fair amount paid for services rendered. Why, anyone with the very remotest connection with business must know that capital could not have been raised at the rates paid but for the fact that India was a part of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) Capital was raised at an extremely low rate, and it has been devoted to the most remunerative works, and the country has gained enormously by all the capital introduced. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, when Mr. Keene argues that it would be the duty of England to withdraw the moment the Hindus were ready or fit to control their own affairs, I should like to know who would decide when that moment came. (Laughter), because I do not know that other European nations have ever committed themselves to any such comprehensive and, I think, compromising admission. Do the French and the Dutch say that of their Eastern possessions? I would demur to the acceptance of any such cut-and-dried doctrine, or the laying down of such a principle, and be satisfied with the fact that both England and India benefit in almost equal degree by the connection: the English gain a great market, as well as the prestige and magnificence of being the overlords of India; whilst the inhabitants of India and its many races—sometimes called Indians, I do not know why—profit equally. I submit that that is the proper attitude, and not that we are under some obligation to march out of India at some period when somebody or other—a committee of B.A.'s perhaps—decides that the country is fit to govern itself and we are needed no longer. (Laughter.)

Then a strong point is made by the writer as regards the land. It is a good thing, no doubt, that the Indian land system should be maintained, and he shows that a tax of some twenty millions sterling would have to be raised from the people if that system was altered. That is very well, but I only hope that just as our systems in this country are by no means good for India—they are thoroughly bad in my opinion—I hope the Indian land system will not be put forward as suitable for these islands. Both are best in their own respective countries, and as we are now suffering severely from being governed under a system of sentimental Socialism, I sincerely hope the existence of the dual ownership system in India will be kept in the background, and will not be supplied to Socialist agitators as an example to follow in Great Britain. (Hear, hear).

At the end of the paper Mr. Keene speaks of England and India, "Separated by nature, so strangely brought together by the decree of destiny and by the verdict of events." That may be so, but I think they were brought together by the enterprise and energy of British commerce; I believe that is what originated the connection, and it was a very honourable commencement to relations honourably maintained, which will, I opine, long last. One thing I cannot understand, and that is, if Indian Home Rule is to be brought

about, how India will pay her own way. She is at the present time a financially independent unit; so that respect occupying a very much stronger position than Ireland, which is not a financially independent unit—in fact, very much to the contrary, and now proposing to become an even less financially independent one; I do not know to what extent, but that will be revealed to us, perhaps, in due time. When I say India is a financially independent unit that does not extend to the Navy; she pays hardly anything to the British Navy, and she depends on that far more than on the Army, because the Army would be cut off from its base of supplies, and would not be able to maintain British rule but for the support of the British Navy. Therefore I believe that in this respect India is on the same footing as Ireland in regard to Home Rule. Ireland, while it is by no means financially independent, is also entirely dependent on the British Navy, for which it pays about 13d. a head, as against three guineas a head that we pay; so, in the case of India, while she is in other respects financially independent, and is entitled to all the credit that accrues from that position, she is not financially independent of the Navy. If that were not the case, immense taxation would have to be raised from the inhabitants of India for the support of a Navy to supplant our own. If the proposition is that India should be independent of England, but dependent on the Navy, then all I can say is that it is very much like the proposition now about to be put forward that Ireland should be independent of England in all other respects, but thoroughly dependent upon her in all financial matters! (Laughter.) In regard to both countries, it seems to me to introduce an element of absolute impossibility, and makes the proposal thoroughly impracticable without any future to which we can look forward.

Now, I am afraid I have been betrayed into talking for a much longer time than I intended. However, I will now sit down, and if any gentleman wishes to speak will he kindly send up his name to me as soon as possible.

MR. THORBURN said he always thought Mr. Keene was a serious historian; but after hearing his paper read he (Mr. Thorburn) had come to the conclusion that he was a humorist and was pulling their legs. He (Mr. Thorburn) came to hear an address on "Home Rule for India," but instead he had only listened to a destructive retrospect against its further development. In his opinion the long quotations in the paper from a Budget speech by Lord Randolph Churchill were both unnecessary and unseemly. In those days (1880-1885) India was regarded as the football of the two political parties, as a result of which India suffered considerably, but happily they now had uniformity and continuity both in the management of foreign and of Indian affairs, so that those evil practices were not likely to recur.

At the end of his paper Mr. Keene showed distinctly that he expected Home Rule to be inevitable. His phrase was, "India for Home Rule and Home Rule for India." Unfortunately, both he and the Chairman also had omitted to define what was meant by "Home Rule." Even now, after long discussion, no one knew what was meant by Home Rule for

Ireland. (Laughter.) No doubt the idea was to gradually enhance the powers of locally-elected bodies in India, and ultimately to allow them to manage their own purely domestic affairs, under the strictest control of the Central Government. That was a small measure of Home Rule, but would suffice. He (Mr. Thorburn) fully believed that in time some limited form of Home Rule would come, but not for generations. There was much spade work to be done before that time. In the first place the various peoples, each in their own locality, must be more or less homogeneous, and live together in amity possessing common interests. They must also show that steadiness of character which was necessary to fit themselves for the management of their own affairs. Above all, it was important that the masses should have education. Fully 220 millions of the Indian population were still as ignorant and as illiterate as they were in the pre-Mutiny days. It was a good sign that Mr. Gokhale was now directing his great abilities to furthering the cause of mass education. Not until that had been accomplished would any country in India be fit for Home Rule.

SIR WILLIAM FLOWDER pointed out the words standing at the head of the paper—Autonomy and Home Rule—and for these terms there was really very little foundation in Mr. Keene's remarks. The latter in no wise explained what he meant by that term, and no one knew what his ideas of Home Rule might be, or what his ideas of autonomy might be. Mr. Keene was certainly mistaken in speaking of Lord Morley as the initiator of the Home Rule measure; the real initiation of extended self-government went back nearly a hundred years. Years before the Charter of the East India Company was done away with, eighty or ninety years ago, there were shareholders of that Company who thought the people of India should take a greater share in the administration of their own country, and who brought this before the old Court in their debates. Again, twenty-five years ago or more, there was a Bill in the House of Commons to very much the same effect as Lord Morley's measure of 1909. He was not prepared to admit for a moment that England, until forced to give up India, would ever do so. We should never part with it whilst we were a nation—nor, as a matter of fact, would the people of India desire it. On the question of fitness to manage their own affairs, he could not do better than quote instances which came under his own observation. In the Punjab there was a large town called Bhowali, which was entirely out of British bands during the Mutiny, yet it was regulated and preserved and peace maintained entirely by the efforts of the native commercial community who formed the ruling body. Many similar instances could be quoted and they all went to show that the people of India were fully competent to manage their own affairs. What was going to happen? They were to be given authority in a modified form to do such things as were desirable in the regulation of their own affairs, but they would be permitted to go on step by step, as years passed by, to a much larger development of that authority which it was now proposed to give to them. (Applause.)

MR. TALCHERKAR said he was very gratified to read the concluding portion of the paper giving the author's views about Indian Home Rule.

It had been suggested during the discussion that if British authority was done away with there would be trouble between the different races, and perhaps internecine wars, and that therefore the existence of British rule was justified. He remembered during the régime of Lord Ripon in 1883 a pamphlet expressing similar sentiments, and he believed Mr. Rudyard Kipling had harped on the same string. He would like to point out that thirty years had elapsed since then, and considerable progress had been made, and they were gradually becoming more and more prepared for Home Rule. Englishmen did not yet thoroughly understand the Indian temperament—not from ill-will, but partially from ignorance. In the days of the East India Company, and before the advent of the Suez Canal, the officials studied the lives of the people, and therefore knew them much better. It was stated that they were not competent to rule themselves, but surely no complaints had been made that the native rulers were not governing their territories satisfactorily? Unfortunately, the policy of excluding Indians from the Government was having a bad effect on their qualities of statesmanship, which were gradually disappearing for want of use.

In reference to its commerce, India, he thought, was becoming steadily poorer owing to the dominant position of England, enabling her to amass wealth and make India no match for her in her commerce; and the terrible famines which carried away millions of the people never occurred to such an extent before the British occupation, as they did now. (*Cries of "Oh! oh!"*)

MR. S. SAKLATVALA could not agree with many of the points raised. As to the British leaving India, he was certainly of opinion that whenever India economically became a loss, or at least not a profit, to England, then would they hear of Home Rule for India being exploited. (*Laughter.*) Of course, it could not be expected that those who had gone through this enormous expenditure of money, time, and life in taking possession of India would give it all up on sentimental grounds. His own ancestors—viz., the Persians—were holders of a large Empire, and they did not give it up till sheerly driven to do so. The Romans did the same thing in regard to England.

The psychological moment to decide upon Home Rule for India would arrive when it was to the material interest of England to leave India alone, and when future President Roosevelts and German Crown Princes would not be able to give England glory and praise for her political achievements in India; then, and not until then, would Home Rule be granted. A physical struggle or free fight was not needed to bring about this result, for many other factors were silently coming into play to change the temper and disposition of England. Ideas of government were changing all over the world. Formerly, the duties of a government began and ended in the establishment of military power, and in achievement of military conquests; and afterwards there came a period of development, the development of undeveloped resources as it was called, and behind the soldiers of a nation marched their exploiters and merchants. Now the people began to see that government was more than that. It meant many domestic duties

to the people ; it was responsible for cultivating the poetry, the drama, the arts, the philosophy and the natural genius of the people.

These same forces in India would continue to work in such a manner as to make the British feel the task of ruling India an irksome and unnatural one. When that time came, they would not be holding meetings in that hall to ask, "Are you capable of governing yourselves?" No ; they would say, "Do as you like ; we are tired of you." (Laughter.) What the British had done so far, and were still doing in India, was not to give them any measure of freedom at all ; it was a question of making the most of it for the Empire. They were only giving education to create necessary assistants for governmental administration and merchants' offices, and technical education in India was now propagated just so far as to enable the Indians to work the machinery sold by England.

In the same spirit England was creating a class of so-called politicians and statesmen in India, and this will gradually operate so unfavourably as to induce England to think of genuine Home Rule. He considered Mr. Gokhale\* to be merely a type of schoolboy and amateur politician, reared up in one of those protecting hot-houses, who called himself the elected of the people, but in his opinion that was far from being the case. (Laughter.) No one in this country could recognize his election as a popular election. The English were simply creating a class of politicians as a result of their set policy in India, which they themselves would no longer accept to be a credit to their good name. Then, when the time arrived for England to make up her mind to allow Home Rule to India, we should be face to face with one huge difficulty of our own creation, and that was the unwieldiness of a conglomerated Empire. In Europe, nations were allowed to separate and make progress along the lines best suited to

\* Mr. Saklatvala has asked for the courtesy of the Editor to explain that Mr. Gokhale's example is cited, not in order to point out any weakness of the honourable gentleman himself, but to prove the hollowness of the system. What was true in the case of Mr. Gokhale was true with equal or greater force in the case of all the Indian Council members created by Lord Morley's recent reforms.

Mr. Gokhale was elected as a representative by the non-official members of the Council of the Governor of Bombay. These members, in their own turn, represent electorates which would not be accepted in free countries as democratic institutions. Even the Municipal Corporation of Bombay has a majority of members elected by certain bodies which are nominated and created by the order of the Government.

This has a direct effect on the politics and policy of these members in the Indian Councils. Mr. Gokhale, for instance, a staunch Liberal in English politics, and member of many Liberal Institutions in England, has done nothing whatever to Lloyd-George's the permanent land settlement in Bengal, while he has, at least, said much to uphold it. He has not yet asked for increases in the income tax. He and his Congress colleagues, who are disciples and admirers of Labour leaders in England, refused to support the Government in increasing railway passenger fares for first and second-class passengers, who had hitherto enjoyed their comforts at the expense of the poor third-class traveller ; they did the reverse of supporting a Factory Act that reduced the working hours of the oppressed factory-workers. Mr. Gokhale, in his 1910 and 1911 Budget speeches, denounced the Government for spending railway revenues on improvements in railways, and actually suggested the nationalized railroads to be once again handed over to private companies, who should economize expenditures, and pocket the larger balance as dividends ! Such are the ways of modern India-Congress democracy !

each. Take two countries like Norway and Sweden, almost uniformly alike in all respects, climatically, topographically, and strategetically, with two peoples who had nearly the same language and religion, and yet the two peoples, mainly because of the difference of names, declared it impossible to remain under one political government. Of all the countries, England accepted the justice of the Norwegian demand and supplied them with an additional King! In Europe no such standard of unity was applied as an essential condition of national independence. Italy was not asked to remain in subjugation till it fostered a love for Spain, nor England for France, nor France for Germany. European states were permitted to frame their policy of education, commerce, railways, etc., irrespective of how the same would affect other states as long as it suited their needs best. Why should the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Mahrattas, etc., in India not be left equally free?

In his opinion the country must get its independence along these lines of natural competitive development—i.e., the Bengalis must rule Bengal, and so on. Then India as a whole ought to be regarded as a partner in an Indo-British Empire. It should no longer be a one-sided British Empire, but a united Indo-British Empire, where Great Britain and other white colonies formed one partner, and the States of India formed the Asiatic partner of an Empire. Then some basis should be established by which India might have military or naval protection, England in return receiving reciprocally articles of commerce, etc., in payment, thus gaining better opportunities than her rivals in trade.

The CHAIRMAN: If I rightly interpret the feeling of the meeting, they would like to have two more speeches on the subject. If so, I would suggest that one native of Europe and one of India should address us. I will ask Mr. Moore to give us his opinion.

Mr. MOORE thought the speaker who referred to the Romans being kicked out of England had not had time to study English history. As a matter of fact, they left England because they had urgent business nearer home, and the Britons were very sorry to see them go. The result was that within about fifty years England was raided by Angles and Saxons. Mr. Saklatwala talked about India being divided up into a number of independent States—Bengal, Punjab, Bombay, and so on—and then went on to speak of India coming in as a partner in the Empire. The two ideas did not agree. Canada, Australia, and South Africa were partners in the Empire as undivided units. Mr. Talcherkar spoke of India becoming poorer, and said her commerce was decreasing, and her famines getting more severe. He had only got to refer to the trade returns to find out that her commerce was enormously increasing from year to year. She was now one of the great commercial countries of the world, and England's best customer after Germany and the United States of America. On the question of famine, Mr. Talcherkar was absolutely wrong. He (Mr. Moore) could speak with personal knowledge of the severe famine of 1899-1901, when he was in charge of the district of Nasik in the Deccan. During the whole of the two years, as a result of careful relief measures, there were only recorded two deaths from famine, and even those came in

from native states. Take, for comparison, the famine of 1813-1814, under the last Peshwa, when the people of Nasik actually sold their children for food, and in some cases even ate them themselves. That famine was on record. What was the use of introducing self-government into a country for whose protection no adequate provision had been made? Look at Morocco, now partitioned between France and Spain, and at Tripoli, torn from Turkey by Italian forces. Was it not quite plain that if the British left India some one of the nations with a strong Navy would transport an Army to her shores? Until India could protect herself from attacks not only by land but also by sea, it was absurd to talk of her independence. Referring to the large sum of money borrowed by India from England, he would say that one country—America—had borrowed more; nearly 400 millions sterling. Would anyone suggest that as a result America was under the heel of England, and paid her tribute? As for the interest paid by India, that was now covered by the profits accruing from the very railways and canals constructed with the borrowed money. (Hear, hear.)

THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJSINGHJI SEESODIA, Editor of the *Rajput*, said he thought he ought to express his dissent from the critics of the paper. The question whether India herself wanted Home Rule or not seemed never to have crossed their minds. As to Mr. Saklatwala's remarks, he supposed if Home Rule were granted it would be into the hands of people like himself, or such as he, and not the Government of India, would select; and certainly he himself (Mr. Seesodia) would not like to live under such a Government. This was an age of co-operation, and India would be nowhere but for the co-operation of England. As Mr. Moore had reminded them, without naval help India could not defend herself against the attack of any powerful enemy. Though Turkey was at the head of the Pan-Islamic movement, which is supposed to be the most powerful international organization in the world, yet they had seen how Turkey was crushed under the heel of Italy, which is, after all, only a third-rate European Power. If this was the case with Turkey, which had its sympathizers from China to Morocco, what would be the case of India, which was politically isolated, if England were to retire, leaving India to the mercy of some first-rate European or Asiatic Power? India unquestionably depended on Britain for her navy, as for everything else.

Now, what kind of Home Rule is intended? As a matter of fact, when an educated Indian speaks of "home" he invariably refers to England. (Laughter.) Hence, he thought, India had already a "Home Rule." Speaking as an Indian, if it was suggested that Indians had to rule themselves, he had only to point out that they were not a united race, and this fact effectively prevented that unity which was necessary to all self-Government on an Imperial scale. He thought they ought to be proud of the Empire to which they now belonged, and to co-operate with it, heart and soul. There were many dangers which had already been pointed out against which they would have to guard, and the best way to remedy those defects was, in his opinion, to appeal to the generosity of England. (Hisses.) Those brave youths who hissed never dared to do such things

in India to men like himself. He would therefore invite them to first of all unite themselves after the manner of good Englishmen, and not to try to imitate the evil ways of unpatriotic Englishmen. (Hisses.) [The Hon. Secretary here called attention to the rule of the Association that "hissing" in token of disapproval was not permitted in debates held under the auspices of the Association.] He was sorry to hear such hisses from those who had so much reason to be grateful to England. They ought to look at the bright side of things, as he himself did, and seek to amend their own defects by mutual co-operation. He spoke emphatically against Home Rule for India, and strongly opposed the absurd advance of it. (Hear, hear.) If we were to have Native Rule, he as a Rajput would prefer Rajput Rule to all others.

MR. PENNINGTON: I do not intend to answer Mr. Keene's critics. He will see it all in writing, and then he will be able to answer it in his own way better than I could. I should like to say, however, that no dynasty in India has ever lasted for more than 200 years, and that only over a comparatively small part of India. It will be time enough to consider when we come towards the end of our dynasty what form of Home Rule we should introduce.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are all very much indebted to Mr. Keene, even although we do not all agree with his paper, for the very interesting discussion it has provoked. It may be that he simply threw out those ideas in order to give rise to such discussion. At any rate it is comforting to hear matters discussed honestly by those who know a great deal about them. Mr. Thorburn rather took Lord Randolph Churchill to task for throwing over Lord Ripon, and said that the former knew nothing about India, but he forgot that a famous writer once said that one of the conditions of being appointed Viceroy, Governor, or Secretary of State, was that the appointee should be steeped not in ordinary ignorance, but in that deep ante-natal gloom such as future generations enjoy before the conception of their remotest ancestors. (Laughter.) It is not fair to institute comparisons. These gentlemen may start without a knowledge of India, and yet may, and do, try to do their best for that country, but I demur to the statement that India was ever the football of English political parties. It might be argued that it has to some extent become so owing to the action of Lord Ripon, but it has certainly been the endeavour of every statesman to keep it out of the rut of English party contentions. Mr. Keene was also taken to task for not defining Home Rule, but as he is in the same position in that behalf as the Prime Minister and all his colleagues, I do not think he need feel very distressed on that score. We have all tried to find out what Home Rule means, and we have all failed.

Then Sir William Flodden gave some instances of the fitness of Indians to rule. I think they have given proofs of that over and over again, but there is no single one of the races of India that has had the strength to create that peace without which the arts of ruling cannot be practised.

As to Mr. Talcherkar, I feel bound to say that he would have done well to fortify himself with facts before addressing the meeting. Before he talks of former famines as comparatively light, he should read the chronicles of

the Mohammedan historian, Ferishta, and latter-day famine reports, and he will find that famines have been almost abolished as a result of British rule. I have no case against the native States of India (far from it), but I am bound to say that if he wants to find proof of how famine is allowed to prevail and to cause a rise in the death-rate, he must go to a native State and avoid British India. I was distressed to hear him say that famine had increased in India owing to British rule. It recalled to me the speeches of the Parliamentary politicians, who suggested that plague was invented by the British Government so as to more quickly kill off their rebellious subjects. It is a pity any currency should be given to anything of that sort, because we know it is not plague but malaria that kills a hundred for every one that dies from plague. That is the disease with which we are endeavouring to deal. I cannot help thinking that Mr. Sakhlatwala went to the root of the whole matter when he said the connection would last until India outgrows England.

I will end these few remarks by a reference to the root fallacy of comparing India with Europe, or any country in Europe. You must compare India with countries in Asia, and when you do so you will find how immensely she has profited from her connection with the British Empire.  
(Loud applause.)

The meeting concluded with a very hearty vote of thanks, on the motion of Sir Arundel Arundel, to the Chairman, and to Mr. Keene, the author of the paper, and to Mr. Pennington for his kindness in reading it.

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Mr. Keene writes :

My thanks are due to the Association which has afforded me an opportunity of replying to some of the comments made upon my paper. - That paper was written from the point of view of the historian rather than that of the official. - I do not think that the gentlemen who did me the honour of their criticism were altogether aware of my object, and any misunderstanding that may have arisen was doubtless due to defects in my manner of exposition. What I meant to say, if my ability had equalled my intention, may be briefly summarized in a few words. Before the arrival of the British, India had fallen into a state of anarchy and tumult, and our first duty was to restore peace and order. But from the time of Sir T. Munro all the efforts of our most enlightened statesmen have been directed to the purpose of preparing the people for the management of their own affairs; and facts show that considerable progress has already been made. Lord Ripon's measures were considered premature, and likely to hamper the authority of the district officer; but hundreds of Orientals are now discharging high judicial functions and sit in the various Legislative Councils. I do not believe that the time has come for going very much further yet; and I mentioned three important points as to which there was at present no unanimity of sound opinion; when the popular leaders are convinced

of the truth as to home-charges, land-revenue, and the treatment of minorities, the country will be more fit than it is now for local autonomy in due subordination to the interests of the Empire of which it forms a part. In the meantime an important step in that direction would be taken if the powers of the Viceroy in Council were clearly defined, so as to show what the Local Government might do without fear of interference from Westminster. These were the objects of my paper, in which I hope to have the sympathy of the Association.

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Sir George Birdwood writes :

"The state of my health prevented my accepting the Chairman's (Sir J. D. Rees) invitation to speak on Mr. Keene's paper; but had I been able to do so, this is in brief what I would have said:

"1. That it was an excellent academical paper, prepared precisely as it should have been, for its intended purpose, to raise an academical discussion on its subject; and from that point of view I listened to it with the greatest interest and instruction; and I was greatly pained by some of the critics of it, who seemed not to have grasped its purpose, passing on to belittle the paper on the ground that Mr. Keene had never risen to the highest administrative offices in India, nor received any honorific distinction. The magnificent Civil Service of India affords its members the widest scope for the exercise and development of every kind of intellectual energy, and I regard as the most eminent members of it those who, apart from the due discharge of their proper professional duties, have also devoted themselves to special researches in the languages, social institutions, history, literature, religion, and arts of the people of India, or the geology, mineralogy, and general natural history of their country,—which in the wealth of its tropical and sub-tropical fertility and glorious beauty lies out-stretched from Karachi to Calcutta, and from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, 'as the Garden of the Lord.' Of such men, in our time and generation, are George A. Grierson, William Crooke, and H. G. Keene, and if none of them have been knighted, they are all the more distinguished thereby, in a day when knights of all sorts and conditions hang as thick as blackberries on their over-weighted branches in the dust of our highways and byways.

"2. That the attack made by one of the speakers on Sir Pheroseshah Mehta and the Honourable Mr. Gokhale was a disgrace to himself and an insult to his audience. I have been opposed in politics to these gentlemen all their lives; but they are both men of remarkable intellectual ability, and force of character, and goodness and grace of soul, who all their lives have worked loyally with the venerable and revered Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the material and spiritual welfare (using the word in all its senses) of India, while the pre-eminent distinction of each one of them is, in my own appreciation, this—that they never speak evil of others, never

decry or belittle others. For the fifty-eight years that I have known Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, I have never once heard him speak in disparagement of other people, and his political disciples, so far as the Honourable Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pheroseshah Mehta are concerned, have followed his example in this respect, and there is no surer indication of elevation and power of character. If the speaker in the discussion on Mr. Keene's paper will reconsider what he then said, I am satisfied that he will feel a salutary pang of self-abhorrence for his wanton, reckless words, and repent himself on account of them in dust and ashes!"

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, February 19, 1912, when a paper was read by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., i.c.s. (retired) on "Peasant Scholarships v. Patchwork Compulsory Education for India." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., C.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present : Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., Sir James Bourdillon, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteaus, C.I.E., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. W. Coldstream, Colonel Murray, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Captain T. Smithies Taylor, Mr. H. Khan, Mr. M. Abdulla Khan, Mr. T. P. Chandanant, Mr. G. Zasim, Mr. H. A. Talcherkar, Dr. and Mrs. Nundy, Mr. C. S. Rau, Mrs. Rawlings, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mr. Hestarp, Mrs. White, Mrs. Clark Keanehy, Mrs. Topham, Dr. Durham, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. J. B. Patel, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. O. C. Stoe, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. K. L. Beri, Mr. J. H. Levy, Mr. A. L. Cotton, Mrs. Lyon, Mr. F. K. Kalnani, Miss Anderson, Captain E. Talbot, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. Guy Liddell, Mr. Smyth, Dr. Bhabha, Miss Massey, Mr. Riou Grant Brown, Miss Ashworth, Mr. W. Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. Cowie, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : As this is the first meeting since the return of Their Majesties from India, I think that it is your wish that we should allude with gratitude to the success of the visit, to their safe return in our midst and to the extraordinary outburst of loyalty to which the visit has given rise from the people of India, knitting thereby closer than ever the relations that exist between that Empire and ourselves. (Applause.) There is no necessity for me to introduce the Lecturer to you : he is well known to us all ; and I shall therefore at once call upon Mr. Thorburn to give us his lecture.

The LECTURER : Before reading my paper, I may perhaps be permitted to explain why I, a retired Indian Civil Servant who has been on the shelf for eleven years now, should have had the presumption to offer my views on a question which is to-day exercising the minds of Indian Progressives

and Anglo-Indians generally. The genesis of this paper occurred in the following way: In March, 1911, Mr. Gokhale, who is a well-known enlightened Progressive in India, introduced into the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India a Bill with the object of enabling Municipalities and District Boards to adopt compulsion for the purposes of Elementary Education. He avowed that his goal was Universal Compulsory and free Education throughout India. On November 13 last, Sir Roland Wilson (who, I am sorry to see, is not here, because his views do not agree with mine and I might have converted him), read a paper in this room upon that very subject. In the discussion which followed the reading of his paper I said I thought he dealt too much with the evolution of our own compulsory system and too little with the bearing of the question on the Indian aspect of the subject. I ventured to urge that Mr. Gokhale's goal was unattainable, because of its prohibitive costliness; and suggested that a better arrangement would be that thousands of peasant scholarships should be given to the best pupils in village elementary schools, whereby mass education would be popularized. After the meeting I wrote to my friend, Mr. Pennington, and said I thought the fringe of the subject only had been touched; that we ought to have another meeting upon it; and that I was prepared to write a paper on it if he approved. He did approve, and I then wrote to the librarian of the India Office, who kindly sent me Mr. Gokhale's Bill and the *Gazette of India* containing the discussion in Council upon it, and also the last quinquennial review on education in India (1902-1907), and from those sources I prepared this little paper. I have made it very short, partly because the subject is dull, but largely because I hope some of those present, with a greater knowledge of the subject than myself, will state their views and searchingly discuss how best mass education can be advanced in India.

(The paper was then read.)

LORD REAT, who was received with applause, said: We have undoubtedly listened to a most interesting paper on a very difficult subject. Now, we must realize what the present situation of India is. I want to call your attention to the fact that in Baroda, after an experimental stage in certain selected areas, elementary education since 1906 has been made free and compulsory for boys from six to twelve years of age, and for girls from six to eleven. (Hear, hear.) The result is that in Baroda 79·6 per cent. of such children are now at school, compared with 21·5 per cent. in British India. Now, in the debate on Mr. Gokhale's Bill, three points deserve special consideration: (1) The intention of the reformers (and that has been pointed out in this paper) that any local unpopularity arising from compulsion or an educational rate should fall upon themselves and not upon the Government; (2) the desire of educated Brahmins to share with the people the education, formerly a monopoly (jealously guarded) of the priestly class; and the very remarkable fact of (3) the keen support given to the Bill by the representative Mahomedans, and their willingness to be taxed for the education of the masses. With regard to the Mahomedans, it is interesting to notice what His Highness the Agha Khan said at the

Annual Mahomedan Educational Conference held at Delhi on December 2 : "No country can ever flourish or make its mark as a nation as long as the principle of compulsion is absent. The colossal ignorance of the Indian masses militates against uniting them as a nation, and the idea of a united nation is an ideal which we must constantly cherish, and keep before us, making every endeavour towards its realization. It is this colossal ignorance of the masses which prevents the Moslems from uniting themselves in a spiritual union and brotherhood, such as must be our essential aim and ambition. I firmly believe that primary education should be free and compulsory, and that it should be so devised that its benefits may be extended equally to the minorities as well as the majorities of the Indian communities. . . . Moslems stand to gain more by the carrying out of the principle of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Bill than any other section of the people in India, provided care is taken in the readjustment of the details. It is not only as a Moslem I heartily support the movement for free and compulsory primary education. You must also remember that we are Indians, and I support the movement just as well as an Indian as a Moslem, from a deep conviction of its beneficent necessity."

Now, there is another fact which you must have noticed, and that is a very interesting incident which has just taken place. The Agha Khan has sent a donation of Rs. 5,000 to the Hindoo University scheme, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga has returned the compliment by subscribing Rs. 20,000 towards the funds of the Mahomedan University. (Hear, hear.)

Ladies and gentlemen, general compulsion and free education will, no doubt, be extremely difficult to apply, as we all know, on account of the question of finance. I think that what ought to be done is to proceed tentatively to find out the areas in which the local authorities are prepared to undertake it, and then the Government ought to assist them in every way. With regard to what is brought out in the paper, the great difference between the condition of the rural districts and the towns, I agree that it does not apply to India alone—(hear, hear)—but it applies equally well to England, Scotland, and Ireland. There is now among educationalists in this country a growing conviction that you require a different method for children of a rural school; you require to take into account the surroundings of the children who frequent those schools, and what has intensified the importance of this question is the evil of the depopulation of the rural districts. That is a phenomenon which occurs at present in all countries, and which, I may perhaps point out to the advocates of a general system of compulsory service in the Army, is accelerated in the countries which have that system. The young men who are drawn from the rural districts to the towns, in many instances, show very little desire to return to their rural homes after their period of service, having been attracted by the delights of town life. As to Mr. Thorburn's argument that the needs of the rural districts require a special investigation, and require a special stimulus either by scholarships or in some other way, I am prepared to admit that he has made out a strong case. It does not in any way lessen the necessity of looking after primary education and secondary

education in the big towns, and, taking care of the one, need not necessarily be combined with the neglect of the other. We know that agriculture is the mainspring of the prosperity of the country. The neglect of the educational needs of the rural population is to my mind all the more to be deplored, because the rural classes in India are not given to ventilating their grievances, and it is exactly because they do not ventilate them that the duty of the Government in looking after their interests is all the greater. (Hear, hear.) I shall not go into details as to how this duty ought to be discharged, but if by scholarships we could, from the rural districts especially, bring out some of the brightest boys to attend the agricultural schools which are now being started, I think it would undoubtedly confer a benefit on the rural districts. It is not difficult to lay down the general principle of free and compulsory education over the whole of the country. What is much more difficult is to carry it out in such a way that you can obtain early results. It is to insure success that I suggest that the wisest course will be to proceed on tentative lines, and to see what is practical. You have to obtain the support of the people in order not to create a reaction among the people of India themselves and a dislike of education which would retard the accomplishment of your efforts. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. LEVY said they were all very much indebted to the lecturer for continuing the subject which had been opened by his friend, Sir Roland Wilsen. It was a question of enormous importance, and if they once took the first step in the direction suggested, they would find their option would be practically gone, and, just as in this country, other problems would come crowding on them afterwards which had not entered into the consideration of those who now advocated State compulsion. The lecturer said, on page 3 of his paper, that the "normal state" of the Indian rustic was one of "uncomplaining passivity," and if they looked at the fact that that enormous population, which constituted one quarter of the whole human race, was governed from this little island by means of a relatively very small number of European administrators, it was obvious that this state of uncomplaining passivity was a condition of that being done. He thought it was a misfortune that, right throughout Europe, education had been pushed on by State compulsion in advance of the economic condition of the people. If education had been left to take its natural course, they would have had a state of comparative acquiescence in the conditions in which the bulk of the people were bound to find themselves; but, in forcing on education in advance of these conditions, they were creating an educated proletariat which would necessarily be dissatisfied with its position, and this must eventually lead to revolt. He was not sure that, under these circumstances, he did not wish that revolt to come, so long as it came healthily; but it was that which he was inclined to doubt. Then, Mr. Thorburn had stated that Mr. Gokhale's avowed goal could never be reached. "Never" was a big word and was scarcely allowable in political statements. He supposed he meant that it would never be reached while the economic condition of the people remained as at present. [MR. THORBURN: I mean; it could not be reached]

without bankrupting the State.] Yes, at present. But this condition would not last for ever. There might be a state in future in which it could be reached. Notwithstanding that, he said, "My solution holds the field." Again, it was suggested in the paper that Mr. Gokhale's scheme should have a fair trial; but if the lecturer's scheme held the field, and the other was impracticable, why should it have a trial at all? They were told there was to be a grant-in-aid, and the lecturer said it was to be drawn from the ignorant masses of the community; that would be from the poorest people, in order to give education to those who were better off. Surely that was a state of things which could not be justified. Mr. Thorburn suggested that the system was common to all civilized countries since the beginning of history. If that was so, was it not time we had something different? He remembered hearing a story of the French Revolution, on a question of a dispute as to the ownership of some land. One of the parties to the suit told the judge that it had been in possession of his family for the last three or four hundred years. "Then," said the judge, "it is quite time some other family had a turn!" He did not think Mr. Thorburn attempted to defend that system, and he (Mr. Levy) saw no reason why it should go on, or why the Ten Commandments should need its assistance. As regards the concluding words of the lecture, he was totally opposed to Socialism; but he could not agree that "the dead level of individual inefficiency" was the ideal of the Socialist, although Socialism might eventually lead to that. In conclusion, he would ask whether there were not enough people of the richer class in India to give these peasant scholarships which had been suggested, instead of looking to compulsory levies from the extremely needy masses for the greater part of the contributions.

CAPTAIN T. SMITHES TAYLOR said that he was afraid he did not know much about India, but he felt, as a British taxpayer, the burden of responsibility in deciding such a question as this. He had taken a great interest, as an employer of labour, in the elementary, secondary and technical schools of this country, and he was driven to the conclusion that the output of those schools was not sufficiently intelligent, and thus the employer had to add to his duties of master that of schoolmaster. He believed that real education was one of the crying needs of this country as well as of India, and in his opinion compulsion was neither necessary nor desirable until voluntary effort had failed. The governing class should have a clear and definite aim, and seek to secure it by drawing out voluntarily the best in those who were governed. This principle applied to all large questions and in a smaller degree to the successful management of workpeople in a factory. If compulsion were adopted, as was done here in 1870, and the Government legislated without a clear idea of what education the working classes needed and left the details of that education to the only people who knew what book-learning meant (the Universities), they would not be able to comply with his principles. The Government did not have an intimate knowledge of the governed, nor a clear idea of what it needed. As a result we had been driven to provide an army of machine-made teachers to meet the demands of the schools. It was only

fair to say that we did see that if we adopted compulsory education we should have to make it free; in other words, the taxpayer who called the tune must, of necessity, also pay the piper. Of course, it was first of all necessary to have a born teacher who understood the child, and the parents, and his surroundings, and needs, and, having got such a teacher, he ventured to think they must pay him more than a labourer's wage, whether here or in India. Although he was an Englishman, he could not help comparing the output of developed intelligence produced in some of our schools with that secured by the old Scotch dominie under a voluntary system of education. (Hear, hear.) He held that the principles he had just outlined applied the world over. He agreed with the paper that, before legislation, we should have a clear idea of our aims and the needs of the governed; we should try to develop the best in them voluntarily, and should only adopt compulsion after failing in that.

MR. TALCHERKAR said that he was very gratified at the sober manner in which the lecturer had dealt with the subject and in emphasizing the fact that they should have peasant scholarships. He might say that, coming from the Bombay Presidency, he found great facilities there given to agricultural classes in Municipal and District Local Board Schools; he had also noticed a disinclination on the part of the Indian high and even middle classes to let their children go to such schools for fear of getting their pronunciation or accent spoiled by coming in contact with peasant children. The tendency of the Indian press—generally edited by the higher classes—was against the reservation of scholarships for the poorer classes; they thought they should be open to all classes, without restriction. It was invariably the higher classes who got the benefit, a large proportion of them being Brahmins. He had read in the latest Bombay vernacular papers a strong criticism about Government insisting upon reserving a certain proportion of scholarships for backward classes in aided schools, whether such scholarships were fully utilized by the backward communities or not. The press, which was conducted mostly by Brahmins, took to task the Government of Bombay for this dog-in-the-manger policy, and urging upon Government to let the higher castes take advantage of the vacant scholarships. The Bombay Government had not yielded to the clamour. This at least showed how scholarships had partially failed to effect the purpose which the authorities contemplated. The peasantry wanted compulsory education, and nothing but compulsory education would ameliorate their condition. One speaker said there would be a fear of revolt if they educated the masses; those sentiments had been brought about by certain officials holding responsible posts in India. Mr. Gokhale's Bill had been stigmatized by one official as a grave political danger. He had only to say that Indians had always been loyal and submissive, and with these traditions before them why get into a panic at the idea of free education. He entreated them to dispel all such notions that compulsory education would act as a boomerang; instead, it would tend to cement the destinies of Great Britain and India. Undoubtedly ignorance constituted a national danger, and it was the duty of the State to guard against it. (Applause.)

MR. PENNINGTON said that he was not going to make a speech, but he would like to ask the advocates of compulsion one or two questions. Compulsory education was chiefly advocated by the educated people of India, but what had they done themselves? He was in favour of free education, but against compulsion. In England we had been fairly well educated at Grammar Schools supported at first by the Church and afterwards by philanthropic people. What had the Indians themselves done to support free education? It was not that funds were not available. He heard last year, when in Tinnevelly, of one instance where 20 lakhs of rupees were being spent on stone alone for the repair of one Temple. That showed there was a good deal of money to be had there, and he thought some of it might well be devoted to some better purpose than the education of dancing-girls. The Buddhists still continued to educate their people, and he could not see why the Hindus should not do the same. He certainly could not understand why it should be left to an alien Government to force education on a reluctant people.

SIR MANCHERJEE BROWNSACKE said he had been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, which he had much pleasure in doing. The title of the lecture had caused him some misgiving—that Mr. Thorburn was going to challenge the advocacy of education for the masses of India, which had found expression in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. He was pleased to find that the lecture itself did not justify any such misapprehension. Indeed, his object seemed to be the same as that of those who desired to see the spread of elementary education in India on a large scale, and towards the fulfilment of it he had, from his own point of view, made a valuable contribution to the subject, and was therefore entitled to their best thanks. (Cheers). For the discussion of such a question they could not have had a better Chairman than Lord Reay, who was an eminent authority on educational matters. His lordship had, moreover, intimate acquaintance with the condition of the subject of public instruction in India gathered during that memorable period of five years during which he was the Governor of Bombay. (Applause). He had favoured the meeting with some very interesting remarks on the subject under discussion, and he (the speaker) felt sure they would agree with him in tendering to his lordship a hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers.) In the course of the debate some fear had been expressed that the dissemination of education among the masses would train them to voice complaints, and shake them out of "their normal state of uncomplaining passivity." That was a strange argument at this time of day to urge against an attempt to arouse millions of people, docile subjects of the great British Empire, out of their deplorable state of abject ignorance. It was not worth a moment's thought. (Cheers). Sir Mancherjee concluded by proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Reay and to Mr. Thorburn.

MR. COLSTREEM said that, as one who had been responsible for the primary education of an Indian district (Hoshiarpur), he had listened with great interest to the remarks of the Lecturer. In that district there was, in those days, one school to every twenty-five square miles. His experience led him to feel that there was great doubt as to whether a large scheme of

compulsory education would be suitable for many parts of India, and it would be necessary to proceed with caution. He emphasized the desirability of first ascertaining the number of agricultural scholars and non-agricultural scholars who took advantage of the schools that existed at the present day as a fact they ought to be in possession of before they went much further. As regarded the Baroda scheme, it would be interesting to watch it and he hoped that it might be successful, but it would probably be some years before they could judge as to how it would work out. He was entirely in favor of Mr. Thorburn's proposal as to scholarships rather than compulsory education, and he thought such scholarships would have a great effect in stimulating education in India. It was certainly more in accordance with the condition of the country and it would be very much cheaper. It was a more easily attainable condition of things than sowing compulsory education broadcast.

He had great satisfaction in endorsing the eloquent words of Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree as to the pleasure it gave them all in having as their Chairman that evening a statesman of such high status and great experience in educational matters as Lord Reay. Mr. Thorburn, alongside whom he had served in the Punjab, had devoted himself with great zeal and ability to the consideration of many questions connected with the Punjab people, and his efforts for the betterment of the peasantry were well known to everyone. He had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Lord Reay and Mr. Thorburn.

The vote was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

**THE LECTURER:** I have only one or two remarks to make. I feel indebted to Lord Reay, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, and Mr. Coldstream for the support they have generally given to me. Their remarks recompense me for some of the curious paradoxes offered by Mr. Levy, but in any case he has enlivened our otherwise dull subject, and I will leave it to you to judge whether the paper is consistent or not. There is only one more remark I wish to make, and that is that some of the speakers seem to have lost sight of the fact that the whole discussion was on the question of elementary education for children under twelve; some of the speakers have soared too high. Lord Reay quoted from a speech by the Agha Khan, but the Agha Sahib ignored the fact that this country was great and prosperous and fairly educated even before it had compulsory education. Our pre-eminence is not a matter of the other day, but of hundreds of years.

**LORD REAY:** I wish to acknowledge the vote of thanks which has been so cordially moved by my friend, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, and Mr. Coldstream. It is quite true that I have always taken the greatest interest in this question of education, and I admit that the older I am the less easy I find the problems with which we have to deal, and the more doubtful I am about any absolute nostrums. I think there is a great deal to be considered. I agree in the main with what has been said by Sir M. Bhownagree. Ladies and gentlemen, let me remind you of what this situation is with which you are dealing. We find that four-fifths of the villages of India are without a school, and seven-eighths of the children

are without elementary education, and less than 6 per cent. of the population can read and write. Now, whatever may be said about the economic aspect of the country, that is not a situation we can contemplate without asking ourselves whether we are doing our duty towards the natives of India. (Hear, hear.) We are giving them education in colleges, in high schools, and we are providing for the higher classes, as was pointed out by one of the speakers, on a scale which compares favourably with what we are spending on behalf of those who are in an inferior condition. I have not come to this conclusion this evening, but when I left Bombay I felt that a great deal more ought to have been done than it was in my power to effect for elementary education, especially in the rural districts. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, on the question whether we ought to discharge this debt, I do not think there can be any doubt ; but in what way, and how the means are to be raised, whether for teachers, new schools or scholarships or other purposes, there is room for a difference of opinion. I think that we ought to go from here to-night with the unanimous verdict that it is the duty of those who are responsible for the future of the millions of people in India not to leave them in that state of ignorance in which they are at present. (Loud applause, and hear, hear.)

The meeting then terminated.

Sir Roland Wilson has sent the following letter :

SIR,

Having been unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting at which Mr. Thorburn's paper on "Peasant Scholarships for India" was read, I shall be glad if you can allow me a little space for comment on the paper itself and on the discussion.

Mr. Thorburn characterizes Mr. Gokhale's scheme, not unjustly, as one of "patchwork compulsion," to be applied just in those localities where education is already most advanced, and where, consequently, compulsion is least needed. But is not his own proposal equally one of patchwork ? One class of the population—the largest, it is true—is to be singled out for special favour, and within that class 45 per cent. of the available public money is to go in scholarships for the most promising scholars, selected at some age not exceeding ten or eleven. Even when the teaching is of the best, and the examination conducted with the utmost fairness, precocious proficiency in book-learning at that age is worthless as evidence of future usefulness ; but since it is admitted that the present teachers are "drawn from life's failures," and no provision is suggested for the payment of independent examiners, the chances are rather against the favoured recipient of the "three or four rupees per month" possessing even the doubtful merit of precocious aptitude for letters. It is more likely to be a matter of influence, if not of direct bribery.

No reason is given for the opinion that "a million literate peasants would be a greater power for good than two millions of other classes." It

is not shown that the city-dweller has less need than the agriculturist to be fortified by education against the wiles of the money-lender. Nor (what is more important) is it proved, or probable, that the modicum of arithmetic capable of being instilled into boys under ten would give them any appreciable advantage in this respect. What is tolerably certain is that a given expenditure would go infinitely further in the prevention of fraud and oppression, whether in town or country, if applied directly to the improvement of civil justice. A trustworthy judge, easily accessible, charging no court fees, and with sufficient time at his disposal to go behind the mere letter of the bond, would put the most illiterate peasantry much more nearly on a level with the money-lender than would any amount of schooling that could be provided for the same money.

With Mr. Thorburn, I am quite ready to concede that literacy is better than illiteracy, even at the risk of political unrest; but I decline to follow him in his conclusion that it is therefore the duty of the Government of India to manufacture literates. His suppressed major premiss, "Whatever it is good for people to have, it is the duty of Government to supply," I have always regarded as rank heresy. It is mischievous in a homogeneous democracy; it is deadly in a heterogeneous, autocratically governed Empire. The only safe policy for such a Government is to display the maximum of efficiency within a minimum range of activity; to keep the peace and deal out equal justice; to keep down the State demands to the lowest possible figure; to encourage *real* education by giving every Government post to the fittest; and to leave all sections of the population free to educate, or not to educate, their children according to their own ideas. That the leaders of Indian opinion, themselves educated in State-aided colleges, should fail to see the matter in this light, is only too natural; all the more necessary is it that the truth should be pointed out to them by detached onlookers, and that erroneous interpretations of Western experience should be corrected. Mr. Talcherkar, for instance, is reported<sup>\*</sup> as saying that "he was not aware that free education in England had led to bloodshed." If he pushes his inquiries a little further, he will easily satisfy himself that it has led to great and increasing bitterness in political strife, which has only stopped short, for the present, of actual civil war owing to counteracting influences which do not exist in India. By "it" I of course mean, not the education itself, of which the more we have the better, but State interference with its natural development, and the compelling of minorities to contribute to the cost of schools conducted on principles of which they disapprove.

\* In India—the only report I had before me when this letter was written. The remark does not occur in the speech as edited for the *Asian Quarterly Review*, with a proof of which I have since been favoured.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

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### AN INDIAN MUSEUM AS A MEMORIAL OF HIS LATE MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

DEAR SIR,

I have just re-read the paper by Mr. C. E. D. Black, published in your columns of July, 1910, on an Indian Museum in London as a Memorial of the late King Edward VII. I first read it with great interest when a resident in Calcutta, and have seen with regret that no practical result came of its author's suggestions. Since my return to London, the subject of the future of the Crystal Palace and grounds has been much to the fore; the principal objection to Mr. Black's proposal of a site adjoining the County Council Hall on the Albert Embankment for the Indian Hall was its prohibitive cost. The suggestion I now ask you to be so kind as to permit me to make is that a hall as outlined by Mr. Black be erected, not on the Surrey bank of the Thames, but on the high ground at Sydenham, now held by the Palace.

I was present in the Town Hall in Calcutta when the then Viceroy inaugurated his great scheme for the erection of India's Victoria Memorial Hall in that City. Half a million sterling or so, raised early in the last reign for His Excellency's venture, probably remains unspent and intact. The reason for selecting Calcutta as the site for the hall lay in the fact that Calcutta was the capital of India. Calcutta is no longer the capital of India; and, as is well known, she has for years undervalued the heritage of the hall for which the rest of India paid. The story of Lord Curzon's "marble dream" is, as regards Calcutta, one of

cruel delay, unthinkable apathy, and endless discouragement. The Hall is a white elephant to the place; to say that no one wants it there would be untrue, but to reconsider the erection of it somewhere else in the Empire would, under the changed conditions, do no one any real wrong. The money was collected for a hall in the capital of India. London is the capital of India.

My proposal is to solve a difficulty in both Calcutta and in London. The Indian Hall that Lord Curzon planned for India's capital would be seen and appreciated by millions if it shone forth across London, instead of by thousands only when in Calcutta. Calcutta has again and again expressed a sense of utter indifference or positive hostility to possessing the memorial. The convenience of both cities would be met, and the ends of the Empire served were a radical change of plans at this point considered and made.

Space does not permit of the further ventilation of my suggestion. The idea of Victorian and Edwardian Memorials would of course have to be abandoned, and the scheme would resolve itself into one for the better commemoration of the British-Indian Era in London rather than in India's ex-capital.

Architecturally, the "Great White Hall" that a warped Bengal so little deserves would become the crowning building of Greater London, and East and West would alike share in a superb and monumental Imperial treasure, amid magnificent surroundings of lasting significance and charm. A glorious building, looking across glorious grounds, to vistas each way of glorious beauty—telling the deathless story of an East and West with kindred aspirations, a linked future, and enduring mutual respect.

Yours faithfully,

WILMOT CORFIELD.

P.S.—Failing the abandonment of the idea for the erection of the Hall in Calcutta, may I suggest the con-

sideration of the erection of its *replica* at Sydenham? It would mean doubling the expense, but the outlay divided between the two empires would be money well spent. The wealthy noblemen of India would vie with one another in generous support of so great a cause, while at the same time Sydenham would be handsomely compensated for the loss of the Palace (which has outlived its period) and relieved of tawdry and noisy ephemeral ventures of "patriotic" and commercial futility.—W. C.

27, LONGTON GROVE,  
SYDENHAM,  
LONDON, S.E.

February 24, 1912.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CONSTABLE AND CO.: LONDON.

1. *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, edited, with an introduction, by ELIZABETH BISLAND. With illustrations.—This is a third volume of letters of Lafcadio Hearn gathered by the same sympathetic editor who compiled his admirable "Life and Letters," published in 1906. The epistles now issued were written in Japan between the years of 1890-94, and the great bulk of them were addressed to Basil Hall Chamberlain, the famous Emeritus Professor of Japanese in the Imperial University of Japan, to whom perhaps this versatile letter-writer gave his best efforts. In a lengthy introduction, the editor attempts to dispel the unfriendly "legends" which have been circulated. She writes: "I have considered it necessary to touch upon and explain certain events in Lafcadio Hearn's life. Also to re-state in brief the facts concerning him. It is unfortunate that this should be requisite; but the duty of those who were really acquainted with Hearn, to puncture any evilly-blown bubble of suggestion and innuendo, cannot rightfully be ignored."

These letters, written in Hearn's characteristic style, touch upon an infinite variety of topics, most of them trivial, and some of them quaintly whimsical, such as his references to the subjective "colours" of words. Here is a curiously suggestive extract: "A queer Buddhist idea was given to me the other day. The idea is this: Do not be

angry or indulge secretly any wicked thought. Why? Because the anger or the wicked thought, though secret and followed by no action, may go out into the universe as an unseen influence, and therein cause evil. In other words, a man might be responsible for a murder committed at a great distance by one whom he does not even know. Weak, unbalanced minds, trembling between crime and conscience, may be decided suddenly to evil by the straw-weight of an unseen influence. Now the fact is that the more I think about it, the more it seems to me that it may be true." —L. A. W.

HENRY FROWDE: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

2. *The Full Recognition of Japan: Being a Detailed Account of the Economic Progress of the Japanese Empire*. By R. P. PORTER. With seven maps.—In that year in which Japan has attained the full recognition of her high place in the comity of the great nations of the world, on the lapse in 1911 of the last of the humiliating treaties imposed upon her by Western nations, it is fitting that an authoritative account of how she won and has justified that proud position should be forthcoming.

This is now provided in the above-titled volume by Mr. Porter, a recognized authority on economic and industrial subjects. He gives us therein the results of his two visits to Japan in the course of journalistic work for the *Times* and other newspapers in 1896, and again in 1910 to report at first-hand upon the economic conditions of Japan and the countries within her sphere of influence. The second visit entirely dispelled the fiction of "The Changeless East," and proved that great political and industrial developments had been at work in Japan during the interval. The facts and figures showing the progress thus made are authoritative, for they have been obtained almost exclusively from official sources, which were freely thrown open to him.

By way of introduction we are given an interesting

historical summary of the events which led up to the renunciation of the old policy of seclusion. When, about fifty years ago, the United States of America, followed by the European Powers, imposed itself upon the helpless Japanese, the far-seeing patriots amongst the latter at once clearly perceived that, their only chance of saving the cherished independence of their fatherland against foreign aggression was to meet the coming foe with weapons of their own forging. There and then they decided to take this step at all costs. The problem before them was to assimilate the methods, the commercialism, and the enterprise of the West, without weakening the courage, the loyalty, and the self-restraint which were the heritage of the nation. With what grim tenacity and superb devotion they pursued the long, narrow, and difficult path to safety, and achieved their purpose in the face of almost insuperable odds, and how in the course of it they were forced to make war against gigantic Russia in mere self-defence, and, though unassisted, proved irresistible, are matters of common knowledge, and nothing short of a miracle, although it took forty years to prepare for it.

In their adoption of Western methods, both of war and peace, the Japanese are vindicated by Mr. Porter against the popular Western charge of being a nation of mere imitators. They do not copy and adopt Western systems in their entirety, but use a judicious and discriminating eclecticism. They reject what they consider undesirable and unnecessary, and pick out what they consider best, and use it in their own way. Whilst accepting the new, they do not wholly abandon the old, when they consider it may be still useful. In this they have shown their wisdom by welding what is best in the Eastern and Western worlds into one harmonious whole. As a result, they have modernized their laws and institutions, and have learned to organize a navy, an army, to improve their cities, and to establish industries on the most progressive Western lines, though developing these according to their own ideas.

The great and rapid strides which Japan has made in recent years in the work of re-constructing her institutions on a Western model, and in developing the commercial resources of the country, are strikingly shown by Mr. Porter with great detail. Facts and figures are given for nearly every one of the great departments of civic and industrial life. For Japan is now one of the great producing countries of the world.

As regards Labour and Wages, it is interesting, in view of the calamitous conflicts so frequently occurring in Europe, to read that strikes are not yet possible in Japao, although the factory system has lately been introduced there.

At present, the working classes are not yet organized, and are without unions, co-operative leaders, and similar organizations for the advancement of their condition. Only in 1911 was a Factory Act passed. But already a change has taken place in the relationship between employer and employed. The old Oriental spirit of benevolence and loyalty between master and servant is rapidly passing away. Yet the Japanese working classes are still, on the whole, contented, and not exacting. As, however, the factory system becomes developed, and the wealth of the nation increases, they will no doubt be faced by the hardest problem of modern times—the relation between Capital and Labour.

No poor law exists, nor workhouses to which the needy may resort as a right, but wide-spread voluntary charity is practised, and progress in this gentle virtue has kept pace with the advancement of the martial and commercial spirit of the Empire, as evidenced by the recent lavish endowments cited in the book.

Amongst the remarkable industrial enterprises developed by the Japanese during the last few years, that of the Soya Bean trade, in Manchuria, reads like a fairy tale. Its rapid growth indeed is suggestive of Jack's famous bean-stalk. This generous vegetable, the Soya Bean, which was practically discovered and first exploited by the Japanese a few

years ago, has manifold uses—agricultural, industrial, as well as a dietary. The first commercial consignment was sent to Europe in 1906, and now the requirements for the coming season is estimated at a million tons of a value of £6,500,000. The industry already furnishes three railway systems with freights, hundreds of vessels with cargoes, thirteen ports with business, and is starting new industries in Hull and elsewhere in the North of England. Moreover, the great influx of money into the area where the bean is now the staple cultivation draws thither an immense import of commodities of European and Japanese manufacture required by the native cultivators. In these new markets the want of English enterprise is notoriously conspicuous, as is so frequently the case in the East even in British possessions. At the headquarters of this industry, Changchun, we read, "the majority of important firms are German and American houses—British manufacturers pay but little attention to the business. The reason given for this is that the assistance rendered to Germans and Americans by their respective Consular officers is much greater than that rendered by the British Consular Service."

The teeming and obviously trustworthy data upon nearly every department of civic and industrial life furnished by this book makes the latter an indispensable handbook and work of reference to the traveller, politician, and merchant interested in the material development and progress of Japan. Its thoroughly practical character is enhanced by a useful chapter on the best hotels in Japan and the Far East. Altogether, it attests in a strikingly practical way the remarkable qualities of character, courage, foresight, judgment, and enterprise which have contributed to the rapid advances of a people who fifty years ago were still entirely medieval, and relied for their defence upon two swords, but who now in their new Occidentalism have won a place amongst the foremost military and commercial Powers of the world.—L. A. WADDELL.

3. *A Year of Japanese Epigrams*. Translated and compiled by WILLIAM N. PORTER.—This is a unique volume. It is a poetic calendar, for which Mr. Porter has found an epigram for each day in the year. The author has arranged his collection in such a manner that even the Japanese may find, for any season, suitable themes for contemplation.

This particular form of verse, consisting of only seventeen syllables, is termed *hokku*, and must not be confused with *tanka*, which is comprised of twenty-seven. *Hokku*, owing to their limitation, are difficult to perfect: they are more or less inspirations, for each epigram is complete in itself.

To translate the poetry of one nation into the language of another is neither an easy task nor, when concluded, particularly satisfying, even to the translator, especially when words spelt alike convey such different meanings; for instance, *tsuru*, which, being interpreted, stands for a crane, a vine, or a bowstring. Mr. Porter's book is artistic from all points of view. We may truthfully say there is hardly a flaw in its production. This is commendable, Japanese books being constantly marred by the inadequate attention given to their production.

As for the epigrams themselves, in conception they are as beautiful as inlaid *ojime*—refined as crystallized dew-drops. In them we recognize precious gems of thought, raised to light from the inner depths of the soul of the Asiatic. Complex and perfect in their diminutiveness, they are a nation's hoard of wealth, which, though proceeding from one, enrich many minds. The Far Eastern races are, and ever will be, Nature lovers. The fluttering of a scented petal, the clear-calling note of a bird, movement of the grasses, moonlight traversing waves, dew rolling from lotus leaves, the fugitive flashes of glowworm or firefly, moves them to memorialize their passing visions, with a few dashes of the *fude*, or selected syllables of song.

Much as this exquisite volume charm us, we wonder

if Mr. Porter after all is a poet himself, or only an admirer of the thoughts of others, for there is this surprising remark in his introduction: "I have even known a Japanese student produce verses in the unromantic smoke of a North of England manufacturing town." Does it require romantic solitary environments for the soul to relieve itself in song? We think not! It is sympathy surely for the striving sons of toil that stamps so many inspirations with the hall-mark of genius.

There is not space to quote at length from these exquisite *kokku*, many from the pen of the celebrated poet Bashō. One example will surely suffice to arouse the interest of the reader:

"THE PERFUME OF THE PLUM.

"So sweet the plum trees smell,  
Would that the brush that paints the flower  
Could paint the scent as well."

S.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN, AND CO.: BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

4. *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East.*  
By PAUL S. REINSCH, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. The author of this book is to be congratulated on his industry, judgment, and ability. Though his name may not have penetrated deeply into our effete European circles, and though manifestly he has never been to China himself, he has made such good use of his correspondents in the Far East, has studied the Oriental press with such diligence and perspicuity, and has met with such obliging and sympathetic Chinese friends in America, that he has been able to turn out for us a thoroughly trustworthy account of Chinese intellectual history, so far as it governs political changes. The reader must not be discouraged by the somewhat vague first chapter on Asiatic unity, where are treated such general propositions as "the Orient shows limitations," "it is said the Orient is despotic," "the Orient, indeed, has unity,"

and so on. The author's name, it is true, suggests a German origin, and certainly abstract philosophy of this kind always finds a better reception in argumentative, introspective Germany than in hard-headed, practical American or English circles; and it must be admitted that Professor Reinsch shows to the full his presumed countrymen's huge capacity for taking pains with his thinking. We will pass over, too, the chapter on "Intellectual Leadership in Contemporary India," and also the two excellent final chapters on "Intellectual Life in Japan," and "Japanese Parties and Government": this for want of space. The attention of most work-a-day people will be more readily directed to the "Chinese Reform Movement," the "New Education in China," and "A Parliament for China," which three chapters are in every way admirable, besides being specially interesting in view of the seismic overturn at present going on in the whilom Celestial Empire, now Republic. It is really surprising how the author, without any first-hand acquaintance either with Chinese literature or the Chinese people, has managed all round to "hit it off" so correctly and incisively. He seems to have a high idea of the capacities of Ku Hung-ming, a protégé of Sir Thomas Wade thirty-three years ago, and for some years a kind of secretary-adviser to the late Viceroy, Chang Chi-tung, at Wuchang; at the same time it is doubtful if Mr. Ku has anything like so high a literary répute amongst his own countrymen as amongst certain foreigners. It is right and just (p. 157) to lay stress upon the enormous difficulties confronted by the reformers when it was found necessary for them to create a new scientific vocabulary in the Chinese language. In this connection, by the way, it must be parenthetically noted with regret that the index is extremely poor; for instance, Wang Chi, one of the chief reformers discussed in the text, does not figure in the index at all. There are a few comparatively unimportant slips which betray the author's absence of local knowledge; for instance (p. 158), Canton and Kwangchow figure as two

separate places. Again (p. 250), Prince Tsai Yunnan is a purely imaginary personage; possibly Tsai-sün, brother of the ex-Regent, is meant. So (p. 200) the "Holy Duke Yen" is a misnomer; the three words mean the "Duke who *propagates* (or carries on as representative) the *Holy man Confucius*." But these are, after all, trifles. The book must be read as a whole, and there is a vast preponderance of very sound thinking in it. The spelling is slightly, but not assertively, American, the peculiarities being confined almost to the omission of one / where the accent is on the penultimate of the past tense, and the omission of n in such words as *favor*; as English prose the style is chaste and excellent. The book is one intended for thoughtful men; we might say for statesmen. It would be entirely out of place in the hands of "flannelled fools and muddied oafs."

E. H. PARKER.

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LUZAC AND CO.: LONDON.

5. *The Teachings of Islam: A Solution of Five Fundamental Religious Problems, from the Muslim Point of View.* By MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD.—This brochure, with its somewhat ambitious title, is little more than a carefully written exposition of the cardinal doctrines of the Koran. It is, however, well written, and contains much suggestive matter, which should appeal even to the non-Mohamedan reader. Perhaps one of the best chapters is that dealing with the Moslem view of the future life, which seems to show that, at all events, as regards life after death, the views of Moslems and Anglicans are not very diverse—in both systems a disciplinary probationary period, commonly known as purgatory, takes a prominent place.

Certainly, reading this book should serve to correct many popular errors. For instance, it is generally assumed that Mohamedans firmly believe in a material Hell. But apparently this is quite contrary to the teaching of the Koran (though possibly, for the sake of discipline, the

uneducated Moslem is allowed by his priests to hold fast to the salutary belief in a future state of physical torture for the wicked). In short, we are told that heaven and hell according to the Koran, "are images and representations of a man's own spiritual life in this world. They are not new material worlds which come from outside. It is true that they shall be visible and palpable—call them aerial, if you please—but they are only embodiments of the spiritual facts of this world. We call them material not in the sense that there shall be trees planted in the paradisaical fields, just like those that are planted here below, and that there shall be hrimstone and sulphur in hell, but in the sense that we shall there find the embodiments of the spiritual facts of this life."—E. A. R. B.

JOHN LANE : BODLEY HEAD, LONDON.

6. *Stalks in the Himalaya*.—By E. P. STERBING, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.—A pleasant book has been made out of the author's notes about the animals he has "met, studied, and shot, or shot at" during his tours in the woederful Himalayas. He tells of big game—goral, Kashmir stags, Sikkim stags, bears, black, and *lal bhalu*—one only has he ever got within decent range of; the cat tribe, including the snow leopard and the marbled cat; the deer tribe in herds, and goats in flocks, with descriptions which will make the shikari's mouth water. The book is interspersed with various accounts of expeditions and stalks and descriptions of the beautiful scenery on the Thibetan borderland, and illustrated in the text with expressive little thumb-nail sketches.—A. F. S.

JOHN MURRAY : LONDON.

7. *Rifle, Rod, and Spear in the East*. By SIR EDWARD DURAND, BART.—This hook might he called "intimate yarns with a keen sportsman." The writer has ridden everything from Arabs to Walers, and shot everything from

tigers to pheasants, and caught mahaseer and every fish that swims. He disregards dates, but by the praise he gives of Lord Mayo it is evident that much of his sport took place during his Viceroyalty. All his stories are happily told in an easy, conversational style, and one picks up many pieces of little-known lore about animals and facts about sport. He records *inter alia* that polo, as we understand the game though with laxer rules, was introduced to Calcutta from Manipur, and thence to England.—A. F. S.

8. *The Diaries of Streynsham Master. 1675-1680* (Indian Record Series). Edited by SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BART., C.I.E.—These two important volumes (publications of the Government of India) require careful study, but well repay it. The writer, Sir Streynsham Master, who early in life had achieved fame at Surat, was selected in 1675 as a "fit and able person" to return to India, and bring back order to the English factories on the Coromandel Coast and in the Bay of Bengal. The factories had all fallen into a state of chaos, the accounts kept at Masulipatam, Balasor, Hugli, and Kasimbazar were in confusion, disputes were rife, and the *farmans*, under which they traded, dubious. To all this Master was to restore order, and he was granted wide powers. Foreseeing trouble from necessary scrutiny, he begged, however, that if "there should come any Informations against" him owing to his Reforms, "the Honourable Court would be pleased to suspend their Judgment" until he had time to answer. Master arrived in India in 1676, and at once began his programme of inspection and reform at Masulipatam. No abuse escaped him, not even the junior servants "haveing roundells, [umbrellas], carried over their heads," a dignity which he vetoed, though he allowed it to the Council and the Chaplain. Then he went on to Bengal, and we learn many miscellaneous things from his diary. He found the Dutch factory at Hugli far pleasanter than the English paid ceremonial visits to native chiefs, was indefatigable about trade, the details of which may to us seem lengthy,

but which are very instructive, noted that at Nadiā there was "an ancient college of Bramans," arranged for the disposal of gold at Balasor, and then proceeded to Kasimbazar. There chaos reigned; we read much in these volumes of the "case of Raghu the *poddār*" or cash-keeper, and similar *causes célèbres* which he had to put an end to. Master seems to have been painstaking and just, and a very capable administrator of the Company's finance and commerce, and in 1676 he founded the English factory at Malda. He greatly desired a *farman* to put the trade of Bengal under official protection, and this desire he obtained in 1678. Master had to settle many disputes and quarrels. One, growing out of the "porter-like behaviour" of one Richard Moseley, the third European husband of a rich native woman (one gets several matrimonial romances in these volumes), nearly embroiled him with the Governor of Hugli, who pretended to take the part of his countrywoman, Moseley's wife. Master settled that Hugli, as "the Key or seale of Bengala," was to rival Balasor as chief of "the Bay" factories, he instituted his Surat system of book-keeping, and ordered, among other innovations, the "Purser-Generall" to act as registrar. In 1677 Master was back at Masulipatam, still unwearied, and then went to Fort St. George, where his residence was for a time troubled. His reports sent home were, however, "well approved of" by the Court. When he became Agent and Governor of Fort St. George in 1679, he kept considerable state, and in a "vacancy of business" made an overland journey to Masulipatam, of which "A Memoriall" is here printed. This is a most interesting journal of travel, and is only rivalled by the second "Memoriall," which narrates his next voyage into "the Bay" to inspect the Bengal factories. There he redressed grievances, checked irregularities (irritating Job Charnock thereby) in his usual way, and it is without doubt that he did a great deal for the Company. This did not prevent him from falling into (the usual) disgrace, and being under a cloud for a time. It is pleasant, however, to know,

that this great trader and financier weathered the storm, and, in spite of all his fatigues, lived till 1724, dying at the ripe age of eighty-four. His portrait (in a "perrewigg," which must have been rather irksome in the East) exhibits to us a purposeful face, the face one might expect of the ruler of men, who traded so keenly, checked abuses so well, and yet was not unmindful of his own interests.—A. F. S.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.: LONDON.

9. *The Golden Bough, a Study in Magic and Religion.* Third edition, Part I., in 2 vols., Part II., Part III., 4 vols. in 8vo. By J. G. FRAZER.—The classical work of Frazer on magic and religion appears as a third edition. The three parts, making up four volumes, are published. It will consist of six parts in its final form.

The priest of Nemi and his murder by the candidate to his succession is the starting-point of the fundamental theme of Frazer's work—a theme which, like a *leitmotiv*, runs through the whole course of this authoritative work.

Diana was honoured in a neighbouring wood of the town Aricia, near Alha, in Latium. Her priest, the *rex nemorensis* (the king of the forest), was originally *Virbius*, a sort of spirit of Nature. At this historical period the *rex nemorensis* was a fugitive slave who found refuge in the temple of Diana, and remained her priest till a new fugitive came to kill him in order to become his successor. The decisive duel between the priest of to-day and the one of to-morrow was preceded by the gathering of the golden bough in the sacred wood of Diana; thus the title of "Golden Bough" which Frazer gives to his work.

The title of Part I. is "The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings." It consists of two volumes. The first volume treats in seven chapters of the following subjects: The King of the Wood, Priestly Kings, Sympathetic Magic, Magic and Religion, the Magical Control of the Weather, Magicians as Kings, Incarnate Human Gods.

In this first volume two essential points attract our attention—the definition and the delimitation of magic and of religion.

First, magic. The two principles of magic are the law of similarity and the law of contact or contagion; these principles are misapplications of the association of ideas. The author gives numerous examples of the application of these principles.

With regard to religion, the author defines it as follows: Religion is a propitiation or conciliation of superhuman powers which are believed to control Nature and man. Thus, religion comprises two elements, a theoretical and a practical, or faith and works, and it does not exist without both. But religious practice need not exist in ritual; it may consist in ethical conduct. The author establishes the great difference that exists between magic and religion, and shows, on the other hand, that they have very often been confounded.

The second volume treats in fourteen chapters of the following subjects: Departmental Kings of Nature, The Worship of Trees, Relics of Tree-Worship in Modern Europe, The Influence of the Sexes on Vegetation, The Sacred Marriage of the Gods to the Kings of Rome and Alba, The King's Fire, The Fire-Drill, Father Jove and Mother Vesta, The Origin of Perpetual Fire, The Succession to the Kingdom in ancient Latium, St. George and the Parilia, The Worship of the Oak, Dianus and Diana.

The subject, which is of particular interest, and is treated with remarkable completeness in this volume, is "Tree-worship." The author concludes it with this affirmation: Originally, the King of the wood at Nemi represented Dianus (Janus), a duplicate form of Jupiter, the god of the oak, the thunder, and the sky.

Part II. has the title of "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul." This unique volume treats in seven chapters of the following: The Burden of Royalty, The Perils of the Soul, Tabooed Acts, Tabooed Persons, Tabooed Things, Tabooed Words, Our Debt to the Savage.

The volume is of the greatest interest owing to its central subject—the taboo. The author says in his preface : " Taboo is only one of a number of similar systems of superstition which, among many, perhaps among all, races of men, have contributed in large measure, under many different names and with many variations of detail, to build up the complex fabric of society in all the various sides or elements of it which we describe as religious, social, political, moral, and economic."

Part III. is entitled " The Dying God." In this unique volume the author discusses in eight chapters The Mortality of the Gods, The Killing of the Divine King, The Slaying of the King in Legend, The Supply of Kings, Temporary Kings, Sacrifice of the King's Son, Succession to the Soul, The Killing of the Tree Spirit.

We cannot in this short review enter into or discuss the theory or numerous hypotheses of the author. The work, as it appears to us in its first three parts, is not systematic enough ; the leading thread is wanting, and the reader loses himself in details. But we wish to point to the extraordinary richness of the author's observations. This work is a real encyclopædia of superstitious beliefs of humanity. It is an inexhaustible treasure for the study of folklore, magic, and religion, in its first manifestations and first developments.—E. MONTET.

OXFORD: CLARENDON PRESS.

10. *The Progress of Japan, 1853-1871.* By J. H. GUNBINS, C.M.G.—This book is the result of a series of six lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1909. By the title, it will be seen that the progress of Japan from 1853 to 1871 has been fully discussed. Owing to a lengthened residence in that country during the momentous changes that occurred, the amount of knowledge concerning the intricate political workings of that period have received the minutest attention of the author. Japan was in a state

of chaos, and party spirit led to the final downfall of dual administration.

Changes, however, eventually led to the admittance of foreigners into the forbidden land, and to the restoration after 250 years of the Government to sole sovereign power. This resolution was followed by the opening of treaty ports to most of the important countries of the world.

The text of these treaties, which form the appendix of this book, are by no means the least interesting. Mr. Guhhins has clearly shown the determination on the part of America to brook no refusal to its persistent appeals for friendly negotiations to be extended and preserved. This story of the restoration of Japan to sovereign power, until a government on a constitutional footing could be organized, is not new. Nevertheless, in spite of repetition (for it has been recounted over and over again), many people are deplorably ignorant. It is high time that these vital facts, which have affected the world in general and ourselves in particular, should be more widely known and realized. The younger students of the policy of Japan will find a mine of wealth of knowledge in this volume. It is written in a clear and concise manner. The story is well told. It is eminently interesting. The ever increasing activity of the Far East should, in these momentous days, be thoroughly understood in all its pregnant and far-reaching possibilities. Those who elect to study "The Progress of Japan" will hardly fail to admire the self-sacrifice and self-restraint of Prince Kéiki the last of the Shōguns. His confession of his own inability to keep up the traditions of Iyéyasu and the early Tokugawa rulers made him determine to resign office. This step led to the important event of the opening up of the hitherto exclusive ports of Japan to alien traders—a decision striven for and sorely needed to lead to a peaceful solution of many difficulties at that time. For this act—truly worthy of a noble samurai—the name of Prince Kéiki should ever be included amongst the heroes of modern Japan.—S.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO.: LONDON.

II. *The Creed of Half Japan.* By ARTHUR LLOYD, M.A.—  
From an historical point of view this work is deeply interesting. The author has gone with much zeal into his subject. Every available detail has been brought to bear upon the story of the influence of Buddhism over the vast area of the East. The spread of this faith in both forms—the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna—has been followed step by step, and by no means the least significant is the boundary line of its limitation.

The value of Mr. Lloyd's historical account lies in the manner in which he has brought every sidelight to illuminate the wonderful and beautiful story of S'aykamuni as it is accepted by the various peoples of the near and far Orient.

The first chapters are devoted more or less to the spread of Buddhism over India, from the Himalayas on the north to the Ganges on the south. But these limits were soon overstepped, and the tenets of Mahāyāna were preached far and wide until they reached the Land of Sunrise. In the sixth century the priests were not at a loss how to disseminate the new doctrines, neither were the people slow to accept their subtle teaching. A more virile form of religion than the Shinto cult was needed, and therefore listened to with eagerness. However dormant even in the present day the desire may be among the modern Japanese, it is only slumbering or set aside—it is not wholly dead. In the great struggle in which they are taking part, too many difficult problems have been forced upon their notice in quick succession; these have caused them for a time to pause before they seriously reconsider the religious side of life, and its tremendous benefit and influence over a nation.

Mr. Lloyd's book supplies a fund of knowledge. He has striven hard over the task of giving fair and honest criticism of a faith which has fascinated and strengthened more than 100,000,000 souls at a time! The life of Buddha

is a life we might all strive to imitate. He was a gentle and lovable teacher, who for some cause or other, of which we are as yet ignorant, drew the hearts of men towards him in the East even as the Saviour draws and appeals more deeply to the hearts of the peoples of the West. It is a strange coincidence that the Divine Son of God should consent to the humility of being born of a virgin peasant mother, while the Amida Buddha should elect to carry out his life of great renunciation by setting aside the luxuries of a king's son. These two great teachers have proved the highest examples of manhood the world has ever known.

Like Christianity, various branches of religious teaching have emanated from the parent stem. These have been described in the pages of this book. But they are all more or less in harmony, rather than at variance, with each other. Far more so than the differences in the creeds of other races, or the various forms of the Christian religion as accepted in Europe and America.

It has been proved by research that, much as many may decry the idea, that certain tenets of Christianity crept into Buddhism in the early centuries of the history of Japan. We have only to read of the martyrs who suffered in the seventeenth century for the Faith which they professed, to become convinced of the power of Buddhism as a glorious foundation upon which to extend Christianity in the East.

Under the rule of the despotic Nobunaga, and the early Shōguns, those who suffered persecution and torture are numbered among the noble army of martyrs. The pages of Mr. Lloyd's book are not all pleasant reading : they are sullied with descriptions of deeds of violence, bloodshed, and intrigue, owing to the cruel commands of those who should have checked and not aided persecutions.

"The Creed of Half Japan" should be read by the three sections of people who study Mahāyāna—those who profess it themselves; those who denounce its dogmas without investigation, and those whose wide love for all mankind are now seeking to reconcile the East to the West by the

holiest ties of thought and brotherhood. Earnest students should go forth to the East, not young women missionaries who are crippled by want of the mastering of the language, but scholarly men who can converse and dispute with learned bonzes and priests, and argue out with minds well illuminated and inspired, the difficult tenets of the Higher Faith. The priests are begging for enlightenment. A great wave of thought and longing that no barrier can obstruct is rising in the world, a call from afar across the ocean from one people to another, a yearning after a closer fellowship, which in its fulfilment will effect far greater consequences than any subtle theory of man's creation. Those who take this to heart can do no better than "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the pages of "The Creed of Half Japan."

In conclusion, a short quotation from the pen of this earnest author will show the trend of his thoughts and the aspirations of his soul :

"The mills of God grind slowly. There is no hurry or haste in the workings of Providence . . . to-day it needs no prophetic gift to tell us that a new era is at hand, that the old is passing away, that a new day dawns.

"One thing never passes away. Heaven and earth may change, the whole political and social fabric of the world may perish, but God's Word will not do so. Whatever form the new world may take, it will have a religion, and that religion will be based on the Eternal verities.

"We have but to learn the Japanese language, and study the literature of to-day's daily life, to understand what a hold Buddhism has on the thoughts and affections of the people."

"Christianity, if it would win Japanese Buddhism for Christ (and surely that is an inspiring ambition), must take these things into consideration. Buddhism needs its special preachers, men of sympathy and patience; men who, while proud of being Christians, are yet willing, for Christ's sake, to be followers of S'aykamuni in all things lawful and honest; men who can say to the Buddhists, 'I will walk with you, and together we will go to Him whom you say S'aykamuni himself bore witness.' —S.

12. *Copts and Moslems under British Control. A Collection of Facts and a Résumé of Authoritative Opinions on the Coptic Question.* By KYRIAKOS MIKHAIL.—It does not require very profound study of the Egyptian press to realize that one of the chief obstacles in the path of Egyptian administrators is the interminable feud between Copts and Moslems which interferes so disastrously with the homogeneity of the national life. Indeed, it would seem that the Copt and the Moslem are as mutually antipathetic in Egypt as the Mohamedan and Hindu in India, or the Turk and the Armenian in the Near East.

In a book just published by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., the author, Kyriakos Mikhail, takes up the cudgels very vigorously and persistently for the Copts in their standing grievances against the Egyptian Government. It must be admitted, that the Coptic claims are skilfully and lucidly presented, and their case argued with great plausibility.

There is no doubt a good deal to be said for the strong plea of nationality put forward by the Copts, especially when contrasted with that of the pseudo-nationalist party of the Mohamedan Egyptians, in spite of their war-cry—"Egypt for the Egyptians." Ethnologically, of course, the claim of the Copt is undisputed, for the Copts are the genuine Egyptians who can trace descent from the race "to whom the civilization and culture of the ancient world was so largely due," while the Mohamedan Egyptian is, of course, to a large extent, an exotic.

The Coptic grievances can be summed up very briefly. The chief one turns on the alleged favouritism shown to the Moslem population, their supporters holding that the Copts, who have done so much for the material and moral progress of Egypt, are, to all intents and purposes, an "oppressed minority." This indiscriminate favour shown to Mohamedans is, they declare, manifested in many ways. Further—and this complaint seems a reasonable one—the Copts maintain that, up to the British Occupation in 1882, the

more responsible posts in the Civil Service, now practically closed to Copts, were, under the previous régime, open to them.

Certainly, the author gives a very clear and just view of the Coptic question—the most pressing, perhaps, of Egypt of to-day. In order that readers may draw their own conclusions, the report of the British Consul-General (Sir Eldon Gorst) on the Coptic claims is reproduced in full. The official defence of the Government attitude is no doubt a very able one, if not altogether convincing. In effect, it rather begs the question as to the employment of Copts in the Government service, for though numerically the Coptic community are even better represented than the Moslems, yet, with scarcely an exception, the higher administrative and executive posts (of those not confined to Europeans) are filled by Moslems. In theory, of course, the Copt labours under no disability as regards the higher posts of the Egyptian Civil Service, but the Copt is unfortunately lacking, or officially declared to be lacking, in certain qualifications, such as initiative power, ability to control subordinates, sense of responsibility, a special aptitude for prompt and vigorous action, etc., which are demanded of an executive official. In short, and herein lies the crux of the whole difficulty, no argument based on abstract justice can alter national characteristics and temperament. Indeed, we have here on a small scale what has always proved a burning question in the administration of India—the employment of the native in the higher posts. In both the Egyptian and the Indian Civil Service the higher posts are theoretically open to all natives without distinction of race or religion, provided they are capable.—E. A. R.-B.

SIMPSON, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT AND CO., LTD.;  
LONDON.

13. *Mysterious Morocco*. By H. J. B. WARD, B.A.—In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1909 (pp. 372-379).

there was a sketch by "Aooo" entitled "Modern Morocco": this may be referred to in connection with the present convenient little volume, which may be described as a pocket-book of 250 pages, extremely convenient for carrying oo the person. Moreover, there are about fifty extremely well-finished and interesting photographs and coloured illustrations, and the index is quite up to the mark for purposes of reference. The writer of these lines has been to Morocco on two separate occasions, when he was much struck by many of the points now brought out more clearly by Mr. Ward. Interior Morocco is, as he says, almost the only virgin country left—the only place unsullied by European industrialism and commonplace. In innumerable respects we are reminded of other countries much farther east—for instance, of China—except that the distinction and cleanliness of the dignified Moors is entirely absent from the Chinese official feast amongst friends, though in China many of the ceremonies, mannerisms, and hospitable formalities are much the same; artificial chopsticks, however, replacing the more natural fingers. As in India (*not* in China) the left hand, usually devoted to meaner *besognes*, is tabooed, at least, from the mouth service of polite dinner-tables; but, on the other hand, there seems to be nothing in the shape of caste in Morocco: in fact, that country may be called the negro's paradise, for, besides appointing negroes to high political posts, the rich men seem to value negresses' charms as much as they do those of their own ladies, and many a sultan has bailed from a negro mother. The word "checkmate" our author derives from *Sheik-mat*, the Arabic (he says) for "the sheik is dead"; other authorities put it down to the Persian *Shah-mata*, "the King is dead." Not knowing either Arabic or Persian, the present reviewer accordingly leaves the matter bare for *Fachmänner* to decide. We are reminded that our "morris dance" is simply "Moorish (*morrisco*) dance," a fact less contestable than in the case of "checkmate." The Moors are fine horsemen, but they seem to be cruelly indifferent

to the sufferings of horses and all other animals; the Moorish bit, especially, is a brutal contrivance, and its use is hardly justified by the plea that their mules are of a hopelessly obstinate character. As in Algeria, the Arab or Moorish horsemen are fond of pulling up dead at full gallop. This picturesque, but generally useless manœuvre is achieved by using a ring bit with a sort of spike worked into it, so as to press upon the animal's palate when the curb is tightened over the under-lip; the most refractory animal in the world cannot endure this excruciating pressure for one instant. A picture of the cruel old Tangier prison is given, which remains as it was in 1894-95. Probably more local prisons are even worse. It appears, from what Mr. Ward says, that the Berbers are decidedly in the majority of the total population, but that the Arab language tends to displace the Berber, chiefly owing to the Koran, which is always in Arabic, being the sole vehicle of religious teaching; the situation somewhat resembling that in Greece, where the dialects are ignored in favour of ancient Greek for religious purposes. The Moorish appetite for green tea is somewhat remarkable; presumably it all comes from England, and is probably taken thence out of bond for re-export, as little, if any, is seen on the British market. What is more remarkable is that the quality seems good, too; perhaps the trade is an ancient one in the bands of some sly, old-established, Manchester monopoly, for there are numerous Moor merchants in Cottonopolis. Nations divide themselves instinctively into coffee-drinkers, Austro-Hungary and Norway being best (Germany fairly bad, but England being the country where coffee is *least* understood); chocolate drinkers (Spain easily first), but all Latins good; cocoa drinkers (chiefly the "lower orders" of England); fine tea drinkers (Russia alone); rubbish and tannin drinkers (Great Britain); i.e., the British "middle and lower classes," who are gradually excoriating their stomachs, weakening their brains, and rotting away their teeth with the horrid cheap mixtures of India and Ceylon.

—ANON.

## SHANTUNG CATHOLIC PRESS.

14. *Taoïsme*, vol. i., by the Rev. Dr. L. WIEGER, S.J.—This is yet another of those learned volumes that Père Léon Wieger has of recent years been turning out with such indefatigable industry and regularity. In general appearance it bears a close family likeness to the same author's work on "Bouddhisme Chinois," which was noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1911. In his present introduction Père Wieger accepts the dictum of the modern Chinese critics that Taoism did not arise from ancient Chinese philosophy at all, but was elaborated by the Chinese historiographers (of whom, of course, Lao-tsz was one), who were the depositaries of national and foreign documents alike; he cites, in evidence, the well-nigh two-thousand-year-old statement of the *Han-shu* (chapter on bibliography) that "the Taoist class emanated from the official historians"; he even goes so far as to say that the Chinese words *Tao* and *Têk* (Providence and Grace) of the so-called Taoist classic, the here-bracketed translation of which he does not consider natural, but adapted, may be in their origin, as referring specially to Taoism, merely a transliteration of the Sanskrit words *Tat* and *Tyat*, meaning "primary" and "secondary" beings; and he discovers more than one other "Sanskritism" in the celebrated book of Lao-tsz. This is, indeed, an apple of discord to throw among sinologues, and it is a pity the late T. W. Kingsmill is not with us any more to rejoice. The author also considers that the Taoist principle of *wu-wei* or *non agir* (inaction) really means "doing nothing contrary to what is predetermined." Unfortunately the harassed editor of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, at his wits' end for space, ruthlessly cuts this notice down to a few lines, there being more things agoing in these stirring times than are dreamt of in Père Wieger's secluded philosophy; and we can, therefore, but refer industrious fighting students to the numerous dynastic chapters here reprinted as evidence in

the original Chinese; to the tremendous "Patrology" of Taoism conscientiously given; to Père Wieger's solid reputation; and to the ample indexes and tables he furnishes for further elucidation.—E. H. PARKER.

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## SHANGHAI CATHOLIC PRESS.

15. *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* (Part 1., two volumes), by the Rev. HENRI DORÉ, s.j.—This is No. 32 of the renowned *Varillts Sinologiques* which have emanated from the Jesuit Fathers in China during the past twenty years. Nos. 1 to 26 can now be bought at half-price. Death has caused sad ravages among the Jesuit body out there during the last three or four summers, and, consequently, several important studies—for instance, that upon Earthquakes in China—have been delayed for want of hands to attend to mere "leisured duties." Père Doré has departed from the usual severe simplicity which characterizes the *Varillts* series; in fact, the present two volumes might be termed both an art production and a "variety" entertainment. Old and young, male and female, learned and ignorant, Christian or Pagan—all can take pleasure in gorgeous and brightly-coloured pictures, faithfully gathered, always on the spot, in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, and exactly reproduced here. The strong binding which permits of each page being opened flat out without straining the back of the book; the artistic silk cords which take the place of stitches, and permit of the heavy cover being removed altogether if desired—all such thoughtfulness as these are agreeable novelties. Conception, births, marriages, deaths, funerals, ancestor worship, amulets, talismans, and superstitious observances of all kinds, are here fully explained in simple, terse, and clear language (French, of course); everything is illustrated, and all is bright and gay. There are second and third parts to come anon, treating of the real or mythical persons honoured by each cult; such as will enable travellers in China to understand each temple

they may visit. Then there will be illustrated notices of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, with explanations showing how tracts, novels, plays, and images all bear upon each division of the subject. Père Doré is now "doing penance" in an outlandish spot amongst the salt flats: "Actuellement je me trouve dans un des pays les plus superstitieux de Chine, dans la ville de JOU-KAO: il y a plus de cent pagodas, où sont honorés tous les dieux du Panthéon: ils vivent du reste en bon ménage; les Immortels du Taoïsme coudoient les Bouddhas, et fraternisent avec les dieux des lettrés; les trois religions n'en font qu'une, c'est l'électisme le plus parfait."—E. H. PARKER.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Report of Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.*  
 —In this report for 1910-11 attention is drawn to a period of unusual difficulty in connection with missionary work, which, as it happens, has followed the great meeting of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh. Reference is made to the appointment of a Board of Missionary Study, as a result of that Conference, which it is hoped will lead to greater attention being devoted among other things to the necessity of elementary medical training for missionaries. The report points out that elementary medical training has generally been regarded not as a necessity, but rather in the light of an extra finish to a missionary education, a luxury which it would be well to secure, but which can be omitted without serious detriment. The year under review shows some decline in the number of students, and, consequently, there is an accumulated deficiency at the end of the financial year of £500. This it is hoped will speedily be removed, and an appeal is made, not only for the removal of this deficiency, but also for the Livingstone Centenary Fund in connection with Livingstone College, which it is hoped to raise to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Dr. Livingstone, which will occur in 1913.

*Bulletin of Agricultural Statistics, February, 1912*  
 (International Institute of Agriculture, Villa Umberto I., Rome).—This Bulletin contains preliminary returns of the

wheat and oat harvests in the Southern Hemisphere. The outturn of wheat is estimated in Argentina at 46,420,000 quintals; Chili, 10,500,000; Australia, 20,508,000; New Zealand, 1,765,662; or, expressed in percentages of last year's production in the individual countries, these figures work out at 125·1, 106·9, 79·2, and 78·4 respectively. The area sown to wheat during the autumn of 1911 in Belgium, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Roumania, and Japan is greater than that sown during the corresponding period of 1910, but is less than that sown in the autumn of 1910 in Spain, Canada, United States, and India. The condition of the winter cereal crops in the Northern Hemisphere is good. The *Bulletin* also contains figures of the last live-stock census in the United States, which was taken on April 15, 1910. Several communications from various Governments are given, among which those from Portugal, Brazil, and Chili, referring to the establishment of bureaux of agricultural statistics in these countries, are of special interest.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allababad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), November, December, 1911, and January, 1912 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, January, February, and March, 1912 (published by the Society).

at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Encyclopædia of Islam*: A dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammadan peoples, edited by M. Th. Houtsma and T. W. Arnold, No. XI. (Leyden : E. J. Brill, Ltd.; London : Luzac and Co.);—*Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1909-10*; part i., Administrative (Calcutta : Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1911);—*Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for the Year 1910* (Bombay : Printed at the Government Central Press, 1911);—*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending March 31, 1911* (Allahabad : Printed by the Government Press, United Provinces, 1911);—*Mission D'Ollone, 1906-09: Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, par le Commandant D'Ollone, le Capitaine de Fleurelle, le Capitaine Lepage, le Lieutenant de Boyve. Études de A. Vissière; Notes de E. Blochet (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1911);—*Essai sur le Chéikhisme IV.: La Science de Dieu*, par A. L. M. Nicolas (Paris Librairie : Paul Geuthner, 1911);—*Seyyed Ali Mohammed Dit le Bab Le Beyan Persan, Traduit du Persan*, par A. L. M. Nicolas (Paris Librairie : Paul Geuthner, 1911);—*Literature and Nationality. An Address, with hints for a Course of Reading* (Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons);—*The Buddhist Review* (published for the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland by Luzac and Co., London);—*Bulletin of the Bureau of Agricultural Intelligence and of Plant Diseases*; *Bulletin of the Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence* (Rome : International Institute of Agriculture);—*Report (and Supplement) of the Directory of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1910-11*;—*Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1910-11* (Bombay : Government Press);—*The Conference of Orientalists, including Museums and Archaeology. Conference held at Simla, July, 1911* (Simla : Government Central Press).

. We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following books: *Ruins of Desert Cathay. Personal narrative of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* by Aurel Stein, in two vols. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.) ;—*The Fall of the Mogul Empire*, by Sidney J. Owen, M.A. ;—*Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*, by Captain H. L. Nevill, D.S.O. ;—*Taoist Teachings* from the Book of Lieb Tzü, translated from the Chinese, with introduction and notes by Lionel Giles, M.A. (London : John Murray) ;—*The Dive for Death*, an Indian romance, by T. Ramakrishna Pillai ;—*Indian Chronography: An Extension of the "Indian Calendar,"* with working examples, by Robert Sewell (London : George Allen and Co., Ltd.) ;—*Essays Indian and Islamic*, by S. Khuda Bukhsb, M.A. (Oxon) (London : Probsthain and Co.) ;—*An Essay on Hinduism: Its Formation and Future*, by Sbridhar V. Ketkar, M.A., PH.D. ;—*The Doctrine of Māyā*, by Prabhu Dutt Shāstri ;—*Ancient India*, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger, M.A., with an introduction by Vincent A. Smith, M.A., I.C.S. (retired) ;—*Djami et-Tavarikh, Histoire Générale du monde*, par Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din ;—*Tarikh-i Moibarek-i Ghazani Histoire des Mongols*, éditée par E. Blochet, tome ii. ;—*The Irshād Al-Arib Ila Ma 'Risal Al-Adib; or, Dictionary of Learned Men of Yaqūt*, edited by D. S. Margoliouth, D.LITT., and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. v. (Leyden : E. J. Brill ; London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff, A.M. ;—*A Peasant Sage of Japan. The Life and Work of Sontoku Ninomiya*, translated from the Hōtokuki by Tadasu Yoshimoto ;—*Indian Shipping*, a history of the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times, by Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., with an introductory note by Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D. (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*The Gambia: Its History, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern*, by Henry Fenwick Reeve.

(London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*Report on the Control of the Aborigines in Formosa* (Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, Formosa) ;—*The Charm of India: An Anthology*, edited by Claud Field (London : Herbert and Daniel) ;—*The Riks; or, Primeval Gleams of Light and Life*, by T. Paramasiva Iyer (Bangalore : Mysore Government Press) ;—*England and the Moslem World*. Articles, addresses, and essays on Eastern subjects, by Syed H. R. Abdul Majid, LL.D. (York : The Yorkshire Printing Co., Ltd.).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

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INDIA : THE KING-EMPEROR'S VISIT.—In our last issue we outlined the journey of His Majesty to India for the Coronation Durhar; also an account of the Durbar and the concessions made by the King. After the Durbar celebrations the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress left Delhi on December 16. By the King's special desire, all the Ruling Chiefs assembled in the Royal Camp to take leave of their Majesties. Before leaving the King expressed the very keen pleasure which their stay in Delhi had afforded them, their satisfaction at the brilliant success of every ceremony, and their appreciation of the splendid services rendered by the troops and the police under the severest strain. From Delhi His Majesty travelled to the Nepalese jungles, at the invitation of the Nepalese Government, where he had some excellent sport. From there the King travelled to Paleza Ghat, and made a trip down the Ganges, landing at Degha Ghat, whence he proceeded in a royal special to Bankipore, where he was joined by the Queen, who came from Kotah, where Her Majesty had paid a visit during the King's shooting expedition. They reached Calcutta on December 30, where an elaborate welcome was extended to the royal party, which included an address, a state banquet, an Imperial Court, and a magnificent procession. They left Calcutta on January 8, and reached Bonhay on January 10, where crowds had gathered to wish their

Majesties a final farewell before they boarded the *Medina* for their homeward journey. In reply to an address from the members of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, His Majesty expressed his satisfaction at the unity which had characterized the welcome accorded to him by all the classes and creeds, and hoped that it might prevail for the future.

The Viceroy sent the following telegram to the King on the occasion of His Majesty's departure from Indian waters :

"All India wishes a Godspeed to your Majesties, whose visit will always be treasured as a priceless incident in the history of India."

In reply the King sent the following telegram :

"Again I desire to acknowledge with sincere gratitude all that has been done during my happy and never-to-be-forgotten stay. I also congratulate you on the admirable way in which everything was planned and carried out."

Their Majesties left Bombay on January 11, and arrived at Spithead on February 4, and reached London on February 5, where they received a cordial welcome. They attended a thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral on February 6.

**INDIA : GENERAL.**—The Government are busy bringing into effect the administrative changes in India announced at the Coronation Durbar. Difficulty is being experienced at Delhi to choose the site, as the intended site—the site of the Durbar Camp—may not, after all, prove to be the most suitable spot for the creation of the Imperial Capital. Some experts favour the south of modern Delhi, along the line from Indarpur, the ancient Indraprastha, to Humayun's Tomb.

It is announced that Mr. Shamsul Huda will be the Indian Member of the Executive Council in the new Presidency of Bengal, and that the Maharaja of Darbhanga will be similarly appointed to the Executive Council of Behar and Orissa.

It is His Majesty's gracious intention, after the comple-

tion of the necessary preliminaries, to appoint Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Bart., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., Governor of Madras, to be Governor of the Presidency of Bengal. .

Captain Swinton has been elected chairman of the committee to plan the new capital of India, and has left for India, accompanied by Mr. Brodie, engineer, and Mr. Lutyens, the architect.

At the close of the Imperial tour, and the resumption of Lord Crewe of his duties at the India Office, steps are being taken for asking Parliament to give statutory authority for the changes announced at the Delbi Durbar. The measure is to be known as "The Government of India Bill," and will take rank with the momentous Act of 1858, which transferred the Administration of India from the Company to the Crown. The Bill will declare Delbi to be the Capital of India, and will authorize the constitution of that City and a defined area round it into an Imperial *enclave*.

The Indian Budget, presented by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson to the Imperial Council on March 1, illustrates markedly the nature of the Indian finance. The estimated surplus has been exceeded by nearly two millions, giving a final estimated surplus of £2,750,000. The Royal bounties of a non-recurring nature, announced at Delhi, are estimated at a total cost of £600,000. The permanent grant of £333,300 a year for the furtherance of popular education announced by the King has been increased to £400,000, and supplemented by a further non-recurring grant of £433,300 for expenditure on hostels and universities. An initial outlay of £1,333,300 is allowed for outlay on the new capital. A third of the opium surplus is allotted to sanitation works. £782,000 will be devoted to providing opening balances for the new provinces of Bengal, Assam, and Behar. No remission in the taxation is to be made.

The value of the sea exports was the highest on record. The railway earnings were also the same.

The cost of the Durbar, including the cost of the Royal tour, amounting to £48,000, was estimated at £560,000.

The Abor and Mishmi operations had cost £124,000, and the operations in the Persian Gulf to check the traffic in arms had cost £118,000.

The total approximate gross earnings of State Guaranteed Railways from April 1, 1911, to January 20, 1912, show a gain of Rs. 2,97,66,366, as compared with the corresponding period for 1910-11.

The sitting of the Indian National Congress opened at Calcutta on December 26, and was attended by a thousand delegates from all parts of India. The Chairman, in his opening speech, welcomed the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress, and gave expression to the general satisfaction felt at the recession of the Partition of Bengal. He urged the fusion of all the Indian races into one great nation with a view to India's eventually taking her place in the Empire on a footing of equality with its other component parts. The sittings of the Congress terminated on December 28, after several resolutions had been passed embodying many of the leading demands of the Nationalists.

A scheme is under consideration for developing Technical and Industrial Education in Eastern Bengal and Assam.

In consequence of the financial stringency, the Government of India has postponed indefinitely the construction of the Shan Railway beyond Kalan.

The following appointments have been made by the King:

*The Royal Victorian Chain.*—The Marquess of Crewe, K.G., Secretary of State for India; and Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

*Knights Grand Cross.*—His Highness Maharao Raja Sir Raghbir Singh, Bahadur of Bundi, C.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.; John George, Earl of Durham, K.O., Lord High Steward to His Majesty; Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Havelock Charles, K.C.V.O., Sergeant-Surgeon to His Majesty.

*Knights Commanders.*—Major-General Bryan Mahon, C.B., D.S.O., commanding Eighth Division, India; Luke,

Baron Annaly, c.v.o., Lord-in-Waiting to His Majesty; Major-General Sir Stuart Brownlow Beatson, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., extra Equerry to His Majesty.

*Commanders.*—Major-General Michael Frederic Rimington, C.B., Inspector-General of Cavalry in India; Charles James Stevenson-Moore, Esq., Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal; Stephen Meredyth Edwardes, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

His Excellency General Sir O'Moore Creagh, v.c., G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, and General Sir E. G. Barrow, G.C.B., General Officer Commanding the Southern Indian Army, have been appointed Aides-de-Camp to His Majesty the King. This is a new appointment sanctioned by the King-Emperor to officers of the Indian Army, and must not exceed two in number. The officers must be on the Active List and serving in India, who shall hold the appointment for four years, but may be extended by the King's pleasure.

Mr. W. Tennon, I.C.S., Mr. Syed Hassan Iman, and Mr. Asutosh Chandhuri have been appointed additional Judges of the Calcutta High Court for a period of two years.

Mr. Claude Hamilton Archer Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., has been made an Ordinary Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay in succession to Mr. William Thomson Morison, C.S.I., who has retired.

**INDIA: NATIVE STATES.**—The Maharaja of Bikanir has offered to present a statue of the Queen-Empress to Delhi, and the offer has been accepted.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala has laid the foundation-stone of a Sikh temple in the capital of the State, and has contributed 20,000 Rs. on his own behalf, and 5,000 Rs. on behalf of the Tikka Sahib, to the building fund.

The late Raja of Mandi having left no male issue, the Punjab Government will nominate a successor at an early date.

The new Maharaja of Nahha, the Tikka Sahib Ripu,

Daman Singh, was installed on the Gadi of Nabha on January 26 with orthodox Sikh rites.

The Diwan of Cochin foreshadows the grant to the people of a share in the administration of the State, which will probably take the shape of an Executive Council and an Advisory Legislative Council.

The Aga Khan has given a donation of 5,000 Rs. to the proposed Hindoo University at Benares, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga one of 20,000 Rs. to the projected Mahomedan University.

**INDIA : FRONTIER.**—The Abor Expedition, under Major-General Bower, has continued its exploration into the Abor country, where it has met with the friendliest reception from the natives. All the villages were most friendly, and no friction occurred anywhere. On January 10 a cairn with an inscription, which was set up in memory of Mr. Williamson in the village of Komsing, was unveiled at a military ceremonial, the guard being furnished by sixty Goorkha Riflemen with their British officers. Colonel Murray pointed out to the beadmen that it would be their duty to upkeep the cairn for all time, and the Government would hold them responsible for so doing.

The operations have practically ended. Before leaving, General Bower took steps to protect those tribesmen who refused to join in the opposition to the force. Some of the beadmen complained that they were coerced by the more warlike sections, who may, after the troops have left the country, wreak their vengeance on these loyal headmen.

The new policy of the Ameer in utilizing the services of tribesmen as frontier guards is being given effect to in certain localities. . . .

**CEYLON.**—The following appointments have been made by the King : Mr. Francis Alfred Cooper, C.M.G. (Director of Public Works), and Mr. Ponnambalan Arunachalam (Registrar-General) to be official members, and Mr. Wapiche Marikar Abdul Rahiman, Mr. Ambalavanar Kanagasabai, Mr. Theodore Barcroft Lewis Moonemalle, Sir Solomon

Christoffel Obeyesekere, Mr. Alfred Joseph Richard De Soysa, and Mr. Joseph Nicholas Tisseverasinghe to be unofficial members of the Ceylon Legislative Council.

**PERSIA.**—The campaign raged by the ex-Sbab has been ended by the British and Russian Governments advancing 35,000 tomans (about £5,833) to Persia to pay off his followers. The Sbab has been bargaining about his pension, but the Government refuse to allow him more than 75,000 tomans annually. His army is being paid off out of this annuity. He left Persia on March 11 for Odessa to rejoin his family.

The situation has improved. Although Russian garrisons will be maintained in Tabriz and Resht, there will be a diminution of the troops in Tabriz, and all the troops will be withdrawn from Kazvin.

The Persian Government has requested the services of eight additional Belgians for the Treasury, Mint, and Customs services. M. Peers, attached to the Brussels Mint, has been appointed Director of the Mint at Teheran, and M. Lecoffre collector of revenues of the province of Fars. Mr. Scbindler's appointment elsewhere in the south is expected.

**EGYPT AND SOUDAN.**—The railway from Khartoum has been opened up through to El Obeid, the capital of Kordofu. The Sirdar, with Lady Wingate, inspected the line in January.

The King has conferred the Grand Cross of the Victorian Order on Sir F. R. Wingate.

The new Cathedral was consecrated at Khartoum on January 25, by the Bishop of London, amid a very large gathering, which included the Sirdar, the Bishop of Chichester, the Dean of Salisbury, Lady Maxwell, and a deputation of Coptic clergy.

**CHINA.**—The rebellion in China has somewhat abated. At the beginning of the quarter much fighting was carried on in the rebellious provinces; but after many meetings, at which Imperialists and Republicans were present, some

advance was made towards peace by the granting of an extension to the armistice announced in our last issue. In spite of this, the anarchy spread. The railway from Peking to the sea was occupied by the Powers under provisions of the Protocol of 1901, justified by the uncertainties of the situation. A new Republican Cabinet was formed, comprising the ablest men in China. The Cabinet was faced with the task of maintaining order in the revolting provinces, in some of which the condition became anarchic. The insurrection spread into Manchuria, where armed Mongolians occupied the town of Kharlar. An attempt was made on the life of Yuan Shih-kai by means of a bomb thrown by revolutionaries. Some consternation was caused by Sun Yat-Sen informing Yuan Shih-kai that he would not take part in the Republican Government until it had been recognized by the Powers.

A conference was held at the Palace at Peking on January 17 between the eight Mongol Princes of Inner Mongolia and the Princes of the Imperial Clan to discuss the procedure of the abdication of the Manchus. With the exception of the Mongol Prince Kalachin all were in favour of the abdication. Accordingly, on February 28 the Manchu Dynasty ended by the abdication of the Emperor. Three edicts were issued. In the first Yuan Shih-kai was appointed to send officials to discuss with the Republican Party the procedure for summoning a National Convention to decide on the form of government. It then proceeded to say that the whole Empire being bent upon a Republic, the will of Providence was clear, and the people's wishes plain. Wherefore the Emperor decided that the form of government in China shall be Constitutional Republic to comfort the longing of all within the Empire, and to act in harmony with the ancient sages, who regarded the throne as a public heritage. Yuan Shih-kai was formally elected by the Senate Prime Minister, and given plenary powers to establish a provisional Republican Government, and to confer with the Provisional Gover-

ment at Nanking regarding the procedure for effecting a union, and thus assuring peace and tranquillity. The five races of which the Empire is composed—Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, Mahomedan (Turki), and Tibetan—are to continue as a homogeneous united dominion constituting the Great Republic of China.

The second edict expressed approval of the favourable terms of treatment guaranteed by the Republic to the Imperial House after abdication. The third edict exhorted all officials and people to remain tranquil, and not to be moved by heated passions and proclaim the disinterested action of the Throne, which is animated solely by a desire to put an end to anarchy, to prevent strife, and to restore blessings of peace, responsive to Heaven's will and acceding to the desire of the people.

The Emperor will retain the honorific title of "Manchu Emperor." This title is intended, though not stated, not to be hereditary.

Yuan Shih-kai was appointed President of the Republic of China, and took the oath of office on March 10, and the seat of the Provisional Government will be at Nanking. Congratulations from all parts of China were received by Yuan Shih-kai, also from Chinese Communities in all parts of the world. Replying to a deputation of Protestant Christians, Yuan Shih-kai expressed his determination to remove all religious disabilities and to enforce religious toleration throughout the Empire.

The Revolutionary leaders at Nanking are pacific and hope that the Manchu abdication will lead to a final settlement, but they mean to assure beyond doubt the achievement of the objects for which the revolution was organized.

JAPAN.—At the opening of the Japanese House of Representatives on January 23, Viscount Uchida, Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the relations of Japan with Great Britain were marked by growing cordiality, and that the revision of the treaty between them had added strength and solidity to their alliance.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—The estimates of expenditure of the Union for 1912-13, exclusive of railways and harbours, were introduced in the House of Assembly on January 29, and show a total amount of £16,782,343, with an establishment of 27,564 white and coloured persons, as compared with £16,890,281, and 28,249 white and coloured persons, respectively in 1911-12. The Railway and Harbour estimates for 1912-13 were introduced on January 31, and show an expenditure on railways of £10,398,873 as compared with £9,352,906 in 1911-12, and an expenditure on harbours of £1,212,458 as compared with £1,098,956 in the past financial year.

AFRICA : NIGERIA.—The amalgamation of the two Nigerias under one governor, which has long been contemplated, has been auspiciously accomplished under Sir Frederick Lugard, who was the first High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. Great convenience will be experienced by thus placing the two regions under a single administration. Southern Nigeria is the richer colony of the two. Her trade increased from under 5 millions in 1904 to over 11½ million pounds in 1910. Her area is 77,000 square miles, and has a native population of 6½ millions. Northern Nigeria has an area of 256,400 square miles and a population of 8 millions. This colony has comparatively a small trade owing to its geographical position. Railway communications have greatly improved of recent years. The terminus is at Kano, and runs south to Minna, where it branches off, one line going coastwards to Lagos, and the other to Lokoja, a point on the Niger where steamers communicate with Akassa and Bonny on the Niger Delta. Sir F. Lugard will, it is understood, be made Governor of both Southern and Northern Nigeria, whose duty it will be, after studying local conditions, to submit recommendations for the future administration of the Colony and the Protectorate.

Sir Walter Egerton, K.C.M.G., Governor of Southern Nigeria, has been appointed Governor of British Guinea, in

succession to Sir Frederic Hodgson, retired, and Sir Henry Hesketh Bell, K.C.M.G., Governor of Northern Nigeria, has been appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands in succession to Sir Bickham Sweet-Escott.

AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.—As a result of arrangements concluded between the Government of the Commonwealth and the Admiralty, drafts of seamen and other ratings for the Australian Navy started to sail from England on March 1. Each draft will number from 10 to 20, and when completed will total 100 men, including 17 officers, who will be utilized for instructional purposes.

The census returns of the Northern Territory of Australia bear testimony to the economic stagnation of this fertile and potentially rich portion of the Commonwealth. There are only 1,418 Europeans in the country. The total non-aboriginal population, including European and such elements as Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, is 3,310. This shows a progressive decrease of 1,588 since 1891.

The Government has appointed Professor Gilruth Administrator of the Northern Territory.

NEW ZEALAND.—The Governor's speech in Parliament on February 16 outlined a progressive legislative programme which includes local Government reform. It is proposed that the Legislative Council be made partly nominative and partly elective by the Provincial Councils and the Lower House.

CANADA.—The Provincial Government of Manitoba have made arrangements for the policing of the new Territory of Greater Manitoba, which is to be included within the new boundary of that province. This new territory, which is equal in size to two-thirds of the German Empire, lies to the north and east. It will extend the limits of the province to the 60th parallel north latitude and Hudson Bay.

The total of immigrants into Canada for 1911 was 351,072. Of these, 130,102 came from U.S.A. and 175,000 from Great Britain.

During the year 1911, 120,000 settlers from the United

States entered the Western Provinces with cash and effects valued at \$20,000,000 (£4,000,000).

NEWFOUNDLAND.—A Woollen Industry has been founded at St. Johns, giving promise of good prospects to thrifty and enterprising farmers.

The Governor, in his speech on opening the Legislature on February 14, congratulated the Colony on its unexampled prosperity, which he said was due to good fisheries, the high prices of exports, and the exceptional progress in the mining, farming, and manufacturing industries. The revenue continues to exceed any previous record.

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OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter:

Lord Alwyne Compton; he joined the Grenadier Guards in 1874, transferring to the 10th Hussars in 1879 (Soudan 1884, 1885, and 1887); from 1882-84 he acted as aide-de-camp to the Viceroy of India (Lord Ripon); saw service in South Africa with Compton's Horse in 1900, and received the D.S.O.;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Gordon Alexander (Crimea 1855-56, Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier 1859-61, Eusofzai campaign, North-West Frontier 1863);—Captain Osborne Nathaniel Henry Barwell, J.P. (Burmese war 1852, Indian Mutiny 1857-58);—Captain M. Barry (South Africa 1878);—Dr. K. M. O'Callaghan, formerly Captain in the R.A.M.C. (he served through the Zulu war 1879, and Burmese campaign);—General Francis Dawson, C.B. (Afghan war 1879-80);—Robert Liston Harris, C.S.;—Lindsay Neill, late Indian Civil Service;—Sirdar Partab Singh, c.s.i.;—Colonel James McNamara (Perak expedition 1874, Afghan war 1879-80, Egyptian expedition 1884);—John William Sherer, c.s.i.;—William Merrett, late Presidency Postmaster, Bombay;—Lord Wenlock, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hon. LL.D.;—Lord Frederick Hay (from 1856 to 1864 he served in the Bengal Civil Service);—Major-General Sir F. Maurice, K.C.B.;—Captain F. B. O. Cole (Mahsood Wuzeeree campaign 1860);—James Sewell Neville, for some time Advocate-General of Bombay, Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta from 1876 to 1882;—Sir John Lewis Jenkins, Home Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India;—George A. L. Banbury, Receiver-General of Mauritius since 1907;—Hon. Mr. Venkataswamy Krishnaswami-Aiyar, c.s.i., the Indian Member of the Madras Government;—Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Hopson (Crimea 1855, Indian Mutiny, South Africa 1877-79);—Lieutenant-General Sir G. Douglas Pritchard (Indian Mutiny, China 1860, Abyssinian campaign 1868);—Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Saie S. Brind (Indian Mutiny campaigns 1857-58, Kasara campaign 1868, Kohat Pass expedition 1876, Afghan

campaign 1878-79);—Major-General George Rodney Brown, late Indian Army (Sutlej campaign, Punjab campaign 1848, Indian Mutiny);—Lord Stanmore, C.M.G., K.C.M.G., O.C.M.G.;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. King Holmes, late Indian Medical Service;—Major A. S. Shaen Carter (Afghan campaign 1879-80);—Brigadier-Surgeon H. E. Busteed, C.I.E., M.D., late Indian Medical Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. Edward Harden (North-West Frontier campaign 1863);—Colonel Herbert John Robert Moberly, late Royal Army Medical Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel Strachey, late Indian Army;—John Stratford Colletti, R.A., I.C.S.;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. S. Milman, late of Royal (Madras) Artillery;—Herbert James Allen, entered Consular service as a student interpreter to China 1861, appointed Assistant Chinese Secretary at Pekin 1876, and Consul at Chinkiang in 1877;—His Highness the Raja of Mandi;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. G. Norris, Royal Field Artillery, Lahore;—Inspector-General Edward E. Mahon, R.N. (Burmese war 1885-87);—Colonel Sir James Buckingham, C.I.E., Secretary of the Indian Tea Association;—Colonel Sir Charles Fitzgerald (Afghanistan 1880, Burma 1886-88);—Sir Alexander Taylor, late President of the Royal Indian Engineering College, entered army 1843 (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Punjab 1848-49, Mutiny);—Colonel F. A. Dickins (Sikh Wars 1848-49, Afridis campaign 1851, Southall campaign 1855);—Colonel R. H. Brooke (Rebellion in Ceylon 1848);—Lieutenant-Colonel George William McNalty, C.B. (Franco-German war 1870-71, Ashantee war 1873-74, Russo-Turkish war 1876-77, Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian expedition 1882);—Lieutenant-Colonel Reginald Coleridge Parry (Mutiny in Bengal 1857-58, Oude 1858);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. Charles Smith, R.E. (served chiefly in India, where he did much duty on irrigation works);—Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Walter Kitchener, K.C.B. (Afghanistan 1872, South Africa);—R. P. Robertson, late Bombay Civil Service;—Major-General Charles Chester Ekins (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. C. C. Molyneaux (Indian Mutiny).

We regret very much to have to announce the death of our Editor, George Roy Badenoch, LL.B., which took place on February 4, 1912, at Woking. Born on March 26, 1830, he completed his education at Glasgow University and at New College, Edinburgh, and was a Licentiate of both the Established Church and Free Church of Scotland. He was the author of numerous pamphlets and papers on religious and educational questions, his most important works being "Ultramontanism" and "England's Sympathy with Germany." On the death of his intimate friend, Dr. G. W. Leitner, in 1899, he succeeded him in the editorship of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which he retained to his death.

March 15, 1912.



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